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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2145

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CHINA'S OVERTURES TO SOVIET BLOC STATES, ALBANIA REPORTED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 30 Apr 83 p 5

['Politik' feature article by Carol Bargmann, datelined "Peking, in April": "The People's Republic of China Courts East Europe: Visits Also to Poland, Hungary and the GDR—Interest in Party Relations"]

[Text] The month of May will bring a string of intensive meetings, one closely following the other, of the highest-ranking officials of China and of several East bloc countries, not seen for more than 20 years. Faster than expected, the Chinese party and government leadership decided to expand into the political field the scientific, cultural and economic relations that it had newly and unobtrusively established in the meantime. Foreign Vice Minister Qian Chichen, Chinese chief negotiator in the consultative talks with the Soviet Union, will travel to Hungary, Poland and the GDR in May. Vice Minister Qian, who as an alternate member of the CPC Central Committee is also a party functionary, will stop over in Moscow on his return flight to Beijing. In Beijing he will meet his Soviet colleague Kapitsa, who is in Beijing ostensibly for an "inspection" of the Soviet embassy.

Before that, Foreign Vice Minister Qian, who has had extensive experience as a diplomat in East bloc countries, will accompany Hu Yaobang, secretary general of the CPC, on a trip to Romania and Yugoslavia, starting Wednesday [4 May 1983]. The CPC maintains formal relations with the parties of both these countries. Both countries pursue a foreign policy that is relatively independent of the Soviet Union, and the visit of China's party chief is to strengthen them in this stand.

While there has been a growing cooperation with Hungary and the GDR for quite some time, Qian's visit to Poland has been preceded by only sporadic economic contacts. During the last few years China modified its standpoint on developments in Poland. First, Beijing had adopted a stand opposing the Soviet entry into Poland, consistent with China's thesis of noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries, but this topic has now disappeared from public commentaries and gave way to censure of the trade union "Solidarity" as "trouble makers." Although

there were only insignificant scattered attempts at independent trade unions in China, the party is apparently afraid of dangerous developments in its own country. Beijing is trying to establish new ties—economic ties for the time being—also with Albania, which is presently at odds equally with the Soviet Union and with China. Albania was the largest recipient of development aid from China under Mao Zedong, until friendly relations were broken off under Mao's successors, whom Albania's chief of party and state, Enver Hoxha, vilified as "capitalists" and worse.

The point of contact for a new cooperation are the numerous half-finished installations, on which no work has been done since. According to foreign speculations, Moscow and Washington too are trying to improve their relations—so far in vain—to this Balkan state, which borders on Yugoslavia and Romania, both countries friendly to China. Although a small country, Albania is considered strategically important with possible radiations all over the Balkans and Eastern Europe, once the Enver Hoxha era will come to an end.

Beijing no more makes the sharp distinction as before between international party relations, which are more important with countries of communist rule and which determine the overall relationship. Commentaries in the controlled mass media show that the Chinese leadership revised its standpoint on other communist parties in essential points, no more rejecting party relations—as they did before—whenever they consider international relations possible.

The only criterion in assessing a party is now whether it behaves "hegemonic" or not. Every communist party that does not "control, manipulate, subvert or militarily occupy" another country can be an acceptable partner or friend of Beijing. China has completely abandoned its earlier inclination to make distance from the Soviet Union a measure of possible friendship. Close ties with Moscow are no more considered a blemish, and Beijing sees in such ties not merely the disadvantages, but also the advantage of a cross-connection to the Kremlin.

Beijing also seems to have reconsidered its views on the possibilities and aims of the international communist movement. For a long time already the Chinese communists strongly advocate to allow everyone his own way to socialism. They reject a "center" or an extranational leadership institution for the communist movement. Contrary to their earlier attitude, they emphatically disassociate themselves now for several years already from the idea of "exporting revolutions." They hold themselves aloof from international communism, which they formerly regarded as completely dominated by the Soviet Union.

They are now trying to emphasize the factors that unite them with all those communist parties, in power or not in power, which also try to find their own way to socialism, whether openly or covertly, or which have proclaimed such to be their aim. Beijing would like to give fresh

impetus and new distinction to the communist movement by the idea of a plurality in the communist spectrum. Beijing considers this as urgently necessary, because the Soviet Union has discredited socialism by its suppression of other communist countries and parties, that is, by its "hegemonism."

In its theoretical structure that is to cover the relationship between communist parties, Beijing goes one step further by asserting that the principle of noninterference prohibits even criticism of another party and even if such criticism is justified. However, Beijing makes one decisive exception from this postulate, consistent with its general stand: criticism becomes a real duty if a party or a government interferes in the internal affairs of another state or another party.

The Chinese leadership justifies in this manner the foundations of its foreign policy and its verbal campaign against Moscow's "hegemonism," which in Beijing's view threatens China and world peace. The hegemonic policy, as the victim of which Beijing always cites Afghanistan, Kampuchea and the Mongolian People's Republic, is in Beijing's view the decisive obstacle for any great change for the better in Sino-Soviet relations. No such improvement is in sight, even if Beijing should be successful in achieving a measure of normalization, with Moscow's approval, in its relations with the Eastern bloc countries and also to free its relations with the Soviet Union from minor controversies and to adapt mutual relations to international usage.

The fundamental controversies between China and the Soviet Union will remain. China tries everything in its power to push back the spheres of influence of the Soviet Union and the United States, accusing both countries equally of "hegemonism," and as far as this is not possible, China tries to keep both in a state of equilibrium. This appears to the People's Republic as the most appropriate way to further its own interests and to realize its ambitions, which are, internally, modernizations and economic reconstruction, and, externally, assumption of an important role in world politics. While China tries to strengthen the third world's resistance against the superpowers, especially against the Soviet Union, the relationship to Moscow is also determined by a power rivalry, because China is starting to get more active in international communism.

At the same time as Beijing's relations with the Eastern bloc is gradually improving, despite many intangible factors and contradictions, the Chinese-American relations are on a decline. According to most political observers, there is no direct connection between these opposite directions in the two developments, and Beijing explicitly denies any such connection. However, for the future one can no more completely rule out such a connection. From the time of President Reagan's assumption of office on, Washington and Beijing have quarrelled not so much because of the mutually disappointing results in their cooperation, because possibilities had been overestimated, but what embittered Beijing more than is imagined outside

of China, was the choice of methods and the indifference demonstrated by the American president, who paid no attention to whether the Chinese leadership suffered "loss of face" domestically and abroad.

The case of the Chinese tennis player, who was granted political asylum in the United States, certainly shows that Beijing has no proper concept of the mechanism and guarantees of constitutional procedures. However, the case also shows that the Reagan administration does not know, or does not admit as valid, certain political and human factors, which differ in China from those of the United States, without their being linked with the different social systems.

The extent to which relations between China and the United States have deteriorated became evident in the recent measures taken by both countries to aid Thailand against encroachments on the Kampuchean border. Although both China and the United States had the same political objectives, they acted without mutual consultations. Similar activities a few years ago had been coordinated between the two countries. A strategic partnership against Soviet expansionism is no more mentioned in Beijing.

9808  
CSO: 2300/231

LAW ON STATE PLANNING COMMISSION PUBLISHED

Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian No 1, Jan 83 pp 8-10

[Law on the State Planning Commission]

[Text] In the implementation of the guidelines and decisions of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party for the further improvement of organization and management in the planning of the economy and culture,

On the basis of Article 67 of the Constitution;

Upon recommendation of the Council of Ministers;

The Peoples Assembly of the Peoples Socialist Republic of Albania resolves:

Article 1

The State Planning Commission is the specialized collegial and decision-making organ for the planning of the economic and social development of the country and for the monitoring and supervision of the fulfillment of the single general state plan.

Article 2

In its entire activity, the State Planning Commission is guided by the general line and economic policy of the Albanian Workers Party, is based on Marxist-Leninist ideology, on the requirements of the objective economic laws of socialism and on the principles and tasks of socialist planning, and operates on the basis of the Constitution and the laws of the Peoples Socialist Republic of Albania.

Article 3

The State Planning Commission has the following main duties:

- it analyzes the directives of the Albanian Workers Party in the field of the planning of the socialist economy and culture;

- it coordinates work with the ministries and other central institutions for the drawing up of draft five-year and annual plans and of outlines for economic and cultural development; it processes comprehensive indicators; it draws up and studies draft plans and presents them to the Council of Ministers for approval;
- it approves the subject matter of socio-economic studies which will be carried out by the staff of the State Planning Commission and the ministries and other central institutions which take part in the drawing up of five-year and annual draft plans; it examines and approves studies for the long-range development of various branches and sectors of the economy and culture, for the perfection of various aspects of socialist relations in production and the development of production forces, and it organizes and directs the work for their implementation and incorporation in the leading organs of the party and state;
- it approves, studies and presents to the Council of Ministers proposals for the improvement of the methodology of economic and cultural planning and approves general methods for various parts and indicators of the single general state plan, which must be implemented by the ministries, the other central institutions, the executive committees of the peoples councils of the districts, the enterprises, the institutions and the agricultural cooperatives;
- it carries out methodological leadership in the work of the state and economic organs for the drawing up and presentation of draft plans;
- it investigates disagreements in regard to the items in the nomenclature of indicators of the state plan of ministries, of other central institutions and of executive committees of district peoples councils and, when they cannot be resolved, it presents them to the Council of Ministers;
- it assists and monitors the planning organs in the ministries, in the other central institutions and at the grassroots in order to raise the level of their work;
- it issues regulations and orders, on the basis of and for the implementation of the laws and of the orders and decisions of the Council of Ministers.

#### Article 4

The State Planning Commission has the right to request and receive information from the ministries, other central institutions and the executive committees of the district peoples councils, such as periodic reports and communications in regard to problems arising during the fulfillment of the plan and information on studies they are making.

## **Article 5**

The State Planning Commission is composed of the chairman of the State Planning Commission who is equivalent to a minister, deputy chairmen, and 15-17 members who are cadres and specialists in various fields.

The deputy chairmen and the members of the State Planning Commission are appointed by the Council of Ministers.

In the issues which it examines, the State Planning Commission makes decisions by majority vote.

The State Planning Commission has a staff for the execution of its tasks.

## **Article 6**

This law goes into effect immediately.

Tirana, 29 January 1983

Law No: 6724

Secretary of the Presidium of the Peoples Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Albania

SIHAT TOZAJ

Chairman of the Presidium of the Peoples Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Albania

RAMIZ ALIA

CSO: 2100/48

STATEMENT BY DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER ON TECHNOLOGY

Sofia VOENNA TEKHNIKA in Bulgarian No 2, 1983 pp 3-7

[Statement by Deputy Defense Minister Col Gen Boris Todorov at conference on applied science]

[Text] First of all, I would like to thank all those who gave papers and those who expressed their opinions, as well as everyone who actively participated in the preparation for an the work of the conference.

The importance of the conference is determined by the significance and topicality of the problems discussed.

The theoretical treatment and practical approaches contained in the papers, speeches, and statements of Comrade Todor Zhivkov clearly demonstrate and generalize the Party's collective theoretical and practical activities in working on extremely important problems of our economy, politics, culture, and the social and moral spheres. They reveal the full contents of the present stage in the building of socialism; they give an answer to all current and specific problems; they define the approaches, means, and forms for their practical solution. The above treatments and approaches have their own immediate, great, and intransient impact on the further consolidation of our country's defensive strength and on the improved combat readiness of the Bulgarian People's Army. They apply, in their full strength, to all the command staff and personnel.

The purpose of this conference was to help the command staff in more thoroughly explaining and making sense of the problems treated by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, to direct all efforts toward their further study, and, most importantly, to organize the practical execution of the tasks which follow from these problems.

The emphasis of this conference was, by design, placed on the theoretical explanation of the problems, and in this respect, the conference was up to the mark. The foundation for more substantial study, explanation, and understanding of the works of Comrade Todor Zhivkov have been laid after the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Of course the work in this direction is just about to be developed; it has to be brought down to the level of the whole staff by using all forms and means of educational-instructive and agitational propaganda activities.

The conference attached less attention to the trends, means, and methods for the practical solutions of the tasks, which follow from the treatments by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, related to the specific conditions in the various departments and units.

That is why I would like to bring your attention to this aspect of the question.

First. The problem of creating the proper material and technical basis of a developed socialist society at the level of contemporary scientific and technical progress in order to be on a par with the overall intensification of the national economy. That is, as was already stressed, the most fundamental and crucial problem of our development. This is also a vital problem for the Bulgarian People's Army. More and more complex, expensive, and perfected armaments and technical equipment are being used by the army. Imperialism tries everything possible to achieve supremacy, most of all in military and technical areas. Once achieved, it will try to put it into action. These and a number of other circumstances make our tasks and the demands placed on us very responsible and difficult.

Where do we have to direct our efforts? Toward providing for development, production, and supplying the Bulgarian People's Army with the most up-to-date arms and equipment; toward creating automated complexes and systems; toward modernization of the existing arms and equipment and to bring them up to contemporary levels; toward the most active participation in determining new methods of combat deployment of arms and equipment in the subdivisions, units, formations, and groups; toward the broadest and the most expedient application of the achievements of scientific and technical progress and the foundation created in our country for management automation of the army and administrative activity within the units and offices; toward automation of the training facilities and intensification of the whole educational process; toward automation and mechanization of the processes of technical services, maintenance, preservation, and the repair of the armaments, equipment, ammunition, and technical property.

The concrete tasks of the appropriate organs of the Bulgarian People's Army follow from the above basic guidelines.

The planning of scientific research and development should take place on the basis of a profound familiarity with the needs of the Bulgarian People's Army, of the operative and tactical requirements for the models and systems of arms and equipment. It is necessary to conduct extensive research on the military, scientific, and technical developments. Particular attention should be paid to arms and equipment.

The automation of the control of artillery fire, the minicomputer computation of the trajectory of artillery projectiles, increases the potential for striking the target with the first shot, decreases the expenditure of ammunition, and increases the effectiveness of the firing. The widespread use of minicomputers in control systems and intercommunication will provide faster and more effective switching over of information flows, better

protection of radio-electronic counteraction, etc. In planning and putting into practice the supply of material and equipment, we should definitely adopt the use of computers for developing and generalizing the applications, data processing and accounting, economic analysis of the prices, supply, expenditures, etc. It is necessary to improve constantly the structure of the managerial organs and the organization of the work.

In terms of accepting the finished products, new methods, technologies, and forms of control and management of quality should be persistently sought. The devices and control systems should be automated so that they could guarantee the production of parts and products. A method of statistical control of some parts for wholesale automated and stamped production and galvanic coating should be implemented, as well as the method of processing whole batches, quality control of strategic aggregates of arms and equipment, etc.

The following tasks are very significant in connection with providing the army with the full complement of modern weapons, equipment and property, project development and organizing the production of new systems, and updating existing ones, project development and construction of automated and mechanized storehouses.

It is necessary to improve the normative basis of the exploitation, repair, and storage of the arms, equipment, ammunition, and property; to strive for more efficient and more economical expenditure of funds and materials; to ensure further implementation of computers for processing information for accounting and providing the Bulgarian People's Army with arms and equipment. The central technical organs have the largest share in the solution of the tasks related to the intensification of the training process, the automation of the training facilities, improvement of the already existing educational and training facilities, and developing new ones, and implementing them for training in technical preparation and vehicle operation.

Among the troops and the subordinate subdivisions, we should allow the broadest room for action to all factors upon which depend the intensification of the training process, the activity related to the protection of objectives and the maintenance of constantly high combat readiness.

It is difficult to enumerate the tasks related to the building of a modern material base and to the intensification of production and repair, faced by the military repair enterprises. We have discussed them repeatedly. Various activities are being conducted in order to solve these problems. There are already some results. The appropriate plans and programs have been developed.

Without going into the analysis of the situation, I would like to stress the following.

In the first place, there is the task of reconstructing and updating the available basic assets. Furthermore, it is necessary to proceed toward a

broader application of electronics, microprocessors, and robots. Individual machines with programmed target control and modules should gradually be converted into automated sections and shops.

The cutback in workers needed for heavy and uncongenial labor, the implementation of complex mechanization, remain, however, a significant problem. It is necessary to further improve the structure and to extend the specialization and concentration of the repairs and production activity.

Computer technology and automated control systems should be implemented more boldly in the management of production and economic activity.

In order to successfully carry out the pace of intensification within the technical units and offices, other factors are not less important, such as implementing our foreign experience, especially the inexhaustible Soviet experience. The problem here again is implementation. The instances of reciprocal visits between the units and the enterprises going abroad to study advanced experience are not rare, but little is done to put this experience into action.

Sufficient care still has not been taken to improve the preparation and training of the executive personnel and specialists according to the requirements of intensive development.

That is why it is up to all of us gathered here to try to solve these problems in practice. If we do not do that, we will end up just talking about intensification.

Second. On the problem of socialist property, its owner and manager.

As far as the enterprises are concerned, the problem is clear. It should be understood and solved in the way it has been treated in the reports and statements of Comrade Todor Zhivkov. The state, on behalf of the Ministry of National Defense and its other organs, has the obligation to develop, increase, and direct socialist property in the people's interest, in the interest of strengthening the defense of our country and the combat might of the army. It prepares the state plan, confirms the legal regulations and the basic economic guidelines for management, it issues the basic indices of the plan. Hence, it is the obligation of the workers collectives to manage the property in the most effective way, to increase and develop it for their own sake and for the sake of the people, to draw up and comply with their own enterprises are designed to serve mostly the Bulgarian People's Army, to work directly for defense. The creativity and initiative of the collectives and individual workers and employees should be guided in this direction; their sense of responsibility should be raised to the level of a true manager of the state property available for them to use.

Third. On the question of a consistent application of the new economic approach and its mechanism.

In the spirit of the guidelines developed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, I would like to point out only the following aspects of this important issue: the problems of implementing cost effectiveness and self-support in the production chains should continue to be solved in practice; the method of setting up and distributing wages should be improved so that they become in actuality a resultative, residual quantity; a salary should be set truly in accordance with the quality and quantity of the work put in; to speed up the process of creating a new type of team organization; to raise profits as an important criterion of labor in each workers collective; to implement more widely the elements of the economic mechanism in the subdivisions which depend on budget support.

Fourth. Without infringing on the principle of one man management, the formulations for expanding socialist democracy, especially in the production sections, for increasing the role of the workers collectives and the political organizations, should be applied in a more extensive way.

The formal approach to the counterplan should be completely overcome. It should become, in the true sense of the word, the workers collective's business, and each worker should participate in its development. The counterplan should be voted on and carried out by everyone.

It is necessary to increase the role, rights, and responsibilities of the collective organs--economic committees, brigade councils, general meetings, and production consultations. Public opinion should be carefully studied; all critical observations, propositions, and recommendations should be taken into account.

The educational work in small collectives should be improved in order to form the correct public opinion and actively vital position, to raise the collective responsibility as far as the designated tasks are concerned. Experience shows that at those places where the political and educational work is neglected, where the organization activity is not in order, and the criteria of evaluation and exactingness are low, there are failures in production activity, wages are low, turnover in production staff is high.

The new formulations, contained in the speeches and reports of Comrade Todor Zhivkov, and related to the increase in rights and responsibilities of the social organizations, should be correctly interpreted and taken into account. The trade unions are assigned the role of social guarantor of the correct application of the new economic mechanism and observation of the new rights and obligations of the workers collective. Important tasks and responsibilities are also assigned to the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union--to carry out the Party policy for greater progress, for more effective and more active involvement of young people in life.

You know that the trade unions and the Dimitrov Communist Youth Union organizations in our units and enterprises will have difficulties in solving these problems and responsibilities without the most immediate assistance and cooperation on behalf of the administrative and economic management, without the participation and personal example of the people here in this hall.

The Party leadership and organizations as a political vanguard and mobilizing force should be at the core of solving these problems. Let us hope that these questions will be thoroughly analyzed at the current annual meetings and that, with the participation of the most responsible leaders, correct conclusions will be made and proper measure will be outlined.

Fifth. The formulations of Comrade Todor Zhivkov in regard to the struggle for overcoming the contradictions in our society, the negative manifestations, in order to get out of the so-called vicious circles, have a special practical value.

The questions of the most efficient use of material and financial resources, capacities and, most of all, adequate soldier manpower, are very pertinent to us.

There are serious problems in regard to the implementation of scientific achievements which prevent the creation of a mechanism for adopting them, established on the principle of economic incentive. The shortcomings in the communist education of the young generation, the formal approach in providing opportunities for its expression, are the main reason for the existence of serious negative phenomena and manifestations.

In general, comrades, a thorough acquaintance with the works of Comrade Todor Zhivkov after the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party leads us again to the thought that the decisive measures for strengthening discipline and order in all aspects should be taken; an environment of public intolerance of drawbacks should be created; the exigencies of the Party and administration should be raised.

There is no doubt that the managerial staff of our units and offices will draw the right conclusions from the problems discussed; they will re-evaluate the style and methods of their work and management, and they will take the proper measures to eliminate the weaknesses in order to mobilize the staff for rhythmical and qualitative execution of the tasks assigned by the Party and the military command.

12334  
CSO: 2200/70

CHEMICAL WEAPONS IN U.S., NATO ARMIES DESCRIBED

Sofia VOENNA TEKHNIKA in Bulgarian No 2, 1983 pp 37, 38

[Text] Lately the American government and Reagan have been following a dangerous path, of increasing its arsenal with different types of weapons for mass destruction. The U.S. administration, without taking into consideration the enormous stockpiles of poisonous substances already built-up, has recently announced a multi-billion dollar program for chemical rearmament, which will provide the American, and NATO, military forces, with millions of war supplies prepared with new, even more lethal nerve-paralyzing compounds (the so-called binary charges). They are mostly designed for a large scale war in Europe. 2.5 billion dollars are planned for spending over the next five years on research and development of this chemical weapon alone. During the last 10-15 years, the American military chemists have worked very intensively and have discovered new poisonous substances.

All of these preparations demonstrate a gross violation of the 1925 Geneva Accord, which prohibits the use of chemical weapons. It is characteristic that the USA is the only country of the 157 members of the United Nations which is against the adoption of a resolution calling for all nations to refrain from the production of new types of weapons.

It is known that the chemical weapons consist basically of poisonous substances. In the capitalist armies they are defined according to their tactical destination and according to the way they affect the human body.

Based on their tactical application, the poisonous substances are divided into lethal, temporarily debilitating, irritating (police), and instructional.

The lethal poisonous substances comprise substances which are able in small combat concentrations to cause fatal injuries and death. The main representatives of this group are the poisonous substances that cause paralysis of the nervous system and skin rashes (zarin and V-x).

Zarin is one of the most powerful toxic substances that causes paralysis of the nervous system. It spreads in the form of fumes and affects personnel through their respiratory organs. Injuries from drop-like liquid zarin

(through the skin) in combat conditions, can occur only within the area of the ammunition explosion, on small surfaces, ranging from several minutes to several hours.

A lethal dose of zarin, when inhaled through the respiratory organs, causes death within 3-10 minutes. Doses of zarin with temporary action can cause disability in personnel for as long as 1-5 days. Zarin is very volatile and reaches a battle concentration of fumes during all four seasons.

V-x is the most toxic poisonous substance. If inhaled it is ten times more toxic than zarin and almost twenty times more toxic than mustard gas; in contact with the skin (it is used in the form of liquid drops), it is hundreds of times more toxic than zarin or mustard gas.

V-x is commonly used as liquid drops or in an aerosol; it quickly penetrates the skin and causes immediate disability. In the opinion of American military chemists, poisonous substances of this kind are designed mostly to disable personnel outside trenches, who are protected with gas masks, as well as to contaminate the site and the battle equipment and transport located on it.

V-x can also cause injuries if inhaled in the form of fumes and aerosols, which are released at the moment of the ammunition explosion. If lethal doses of V-x (fumes or aerosols) are inhaled through the respiratory tract and lungs, death can occur within several minutes. When used in the form of liquid drops or aerosol, direct contact with unprotected skin, or skin protected by summer clothing, causes the first signs of lesions to appear after 1-24 hours.

If used in the form of liquid drops, V-x contaminates the site in a long-lasting way (in the summer, 1.5 to 2 weeks; fall and spring, several weeks; winter, up to several months).

NATO continues to keep mustard gas in storage as a chemical weapon that affects the skin because it has a universal action, it costs little to produce, and it can be stored for long periods of time. It is used to pollute the air, the site, and the battle equipment, thus disabling vital forces and paralyzing the troops' activities.

In capitalist armies, intensive research is being conducted to develop poisonous substances which can temporarily disable personnel. There are three developments in this direction.

The first development. Substances that decrease the productive capacities of the personnel, such as bromobenzylcyanide, chloracetophenol, adamsite, and diphenylcyanarsine.

Japanese scientists have developed a natural preparation, kabsaizin, obtained from pungent pepper, which has highly irritating properties.

American scientists have synthesized a substitute for kabsaizin, the so-called morpholyd, which is a lachrimal and sternutatory poisonous substance. It causes an unbearable cough, sneezing, strong lachrimal secretion and headaches. Large doses can cause asphyxia. Their effect can last up to 3-4 hours. These substances are called algogenic, that is, they cause pain and loss of ability to function.

In Vietnam, the American aggressors used the substance CS. This poisonous substance has a lachrimal and sternutatory effect, and it irritates the skin as well.

In 1973, the press noted CR dibenzoxazepin, a lachrimal, sternutatory poisonous substance that also attacks the skin.

All of these substances cause physical weakening in the personnel; this is the reason why the research conducted in this direction in the capitalist countries is very intensive. Of some interest are the so-called soporifics, opiates, and drugs that disturb blood pressure, increase or decrease the heart beat, and others. If used, the pulse can go up from the normal 70 beats per minute to 120 beats per minute. Blood pressure can fall from 120/80 to 80/40, which leaves a person without strength.

The press recently made an announcement about a substance called P, but nothing was mentioned about its toxic properties.

The second development. Poisonous substances that temporarily disable personnel and destroy a person's mind. It is known that these substances are divided into psycholeptic, which calm down an agitated nervous system, psychoanaleptic, which excite the nervous system (doping), and psychotomimetic, which cause an artificial psychosis in a human being. The substance called LSD belongs in this group of poisonous substances. According to American specialists, the poisonous substance can be used for mass injury and also as a diversionary tactics against management staff.

Another such substance of this type is BZ. Its production is not costly and relatively simple, but it is less effective than LSD. As a substitute for BZ in the USA, they are thinking about using a substance with the code name EA-3443, which has a powerful toxic effect on people.

The third development of temporarily disabling poisonous substances is based on the development of natural poisons obtained from animals, plants, and microorganisms. This type of substance affects the human nervous system. Their common name is curare (curare is a well known vegetative poison used by Indians to tip their arrows. It is obtained from the southern pumpkin).

In Japan, a poison called tetrodotoxin has been obtained from a poisonous fish. Its effects are a dry mouth and weak muscles, separately paralyzed parts of the body, dilated pupils, low blood pressure and slow heart beat. A human being can perish from lack of oxygen. Its production is very expensive and this is the reason why there is research in the USA and other capitalist countries aimed at obtaining it from less expensive products.

Recently in the USA, there has been extensive research on polytoxins, more characteristic of which are the polypeptides. These substances are found in bees, poisonous spiders, scorpions, and poisonous serpents; they block the nerve cells and the nerves' capability for transmitting. For instance, the substance ricin (abrin) is a polypeptide obtained artificially during the recycling of chemical wastes from factories. According to the information published in the West, these poisons are already in storage in the USA and England, and it is very likely that they are being used for military purposes in cassette-type chemical ammunition. They are characterized by their latent effect period, from one to ten hours. They cause nausea, dizziness, frequent urination, and, if death does not occur, these symptoms last up to forty eight hours, and they resemble diphteria symptoms.

The U.S. army has developed crystalline toxins which are highly toxic. Such crystalline toxins are those of botulism, of which various types are known. The most commonly used are the types A and B. They are one hundred times more toxic than the ordinary poisonous substances. Their inhalation dose is  $10^{-6}$  mg. min/l. In the USA these substances are commonly called XR's. They are used in making combat bullets, and some journalists assert that Kennedy and Martin Luther King were killed with exactly this same kind of bullet. The Western specialists point out with disappointment, however, that the bullets' toxicity disappears after one month of storage.

Extensive research has recently been conducted on the type A of botulin toxin; as a result, a crystalline substances, WA, has been obtained, which was adopted as a chemical weapon. It is very toxic and in the form of an aerosol it attacks the nervous system. Its combat effectiveness becomes noticeable two hours after inhalation. Military specialists think that it should not be used for contaminating a site.

Presumably, toxins of types A and E and others can be used in Lance rockets for polluting the air. The characteristic symptoms of an injury are feebleness, dizziness, decreased vision, difficulty in breathing, loss of voice, headache, and paralyzed facial muscles. The period of incubation for some of these toxins is twelve to thirty six hours. Death can occur after approximately three to ten days.

Recently in the USA and West Germany, substances have been developed which, after contact with the body, interact with different components of a cell and become very powerful poisons (detoxicators).

In the USA, the so-called binary system for producing poisonous substances is widely popular. According to this system, the ammunition is made up from a mixture of non-toxic or slightly toxic products; as a result of the explosion of this ammunition, neuroparalytic and other poisonous substances are obtained. These substances and by-products are called binary poisonous substances. One positive aspect is the storage of the substances and accouterments of the ammunition, which is made easier because the primary substances are non-toxic and relatively durable.

The binary system is used in diplomatic circles in the USA and NATO countries to deceive public opinion into believing that they do not produce poisonous substances and thus there is no need at all to sign a convention for prohibition of these poisonous substances.

The work being done in the USA on developing new poisonous substances and replacing old chemical weapons with binary ones for their use on TVD greatly complicates organizing and protecting troops and the populace from chemical weapons. This forces us to improve the theoretical preparation and practical experience of the troops in their defense from the enemy's poisonous substances.

12334  
CSO: 2200/70

BULGARIA

SERVICEMEN URGED TO MASTER COMPLETELY USE OF EQUIPMENT

Sofia SERZHANT in Bulgarian No 3, 1983 pp 1-3

[Text] One of the many factors that characterize the level of military preparedness and the military training of the troops is thorough familiarity and skillful mastery of military equipment and arms. A qualitative indicator of this familiarity and mastery if knowing how to make use of the troops' military and technical capabilities when making decisions in battle.

Mastery of complex equipment and modern type arms is a comprehensive set of tasks, including thorough study of the materiel and perfecting habits for directing it; using it correctly, both tactically and technically; insuring its accident-free use; maintaining the reliability of the machine and arms at a high level; swift and qualitative rehabilitations of equipment and arms that have been damaged or have been overworked during the intervals between repairs.

The successful resolution of these tasks by the personnel in the subdivisions depends to a significant degree on the technical knowledge, practical habits, and abilities of the sergeants. This is not accidental. The sergeants who are commanders, specialists, and leaders in motorized armored tank equipment, participate either directly or indirectly in the process of staff mastery of equipment and arms and maintaining them in constant combat readiness. The sergeants' place in this process is a responsible one, and their role is great.

The condition of the materiel and the level of technical preparation of their subordinates, including the military preparedness of the subdivisions, depends on the sergeants' professional competence, their organizational capability and contribution to instructional-educational and productive activity. In this regard, the demands on the sergeants are high and objectively necessary. In order to fulfill their functional obligations to maintain, rehabilitate, and correctly employ equipment and arms and to be able personally to train their subordinates, the sergeants themselves have to be masters of their own specialties. Therefore it is necessary for them to possess advanced special and general technical preparation.

There are different ways of acquiring technical knowledge and methodological skills and improving practical habits. Selecting and applying them, however, depends most of all on the goal of the sergeants' training and on their specialty. In all cases it is imperative that their preparation be oriented in three directions: first, full-scale, thorough study and perfect mastery of the basic branch of the army and military equipment available to the subdivisions; second, improvement of the methodological abilities and skills for training subordinates, passing on to them their knowledge and practical experience; third, expanding the limits of the sergeants' knowledge and skills, which allow them to use objectively the accessory materiel (diagnostic apparatus, stationary and mobile devices for repair of the arms and combat equipment, mechanized services devices, etc.).

The sergeants, for instance, tank commanders and driver-mechanics from the outfit in which the officers Kalupov and Petrov serve, are not only mastering the tank and its armament, but at the same time they study, are familiar with, and can use the equipment from the technical service machine; the sergeants from repair-rehabilitation subdivisions are not only mastering the technology and technical requirements for repair of arms and equipment, but they also know about the possibilities and the order of using the available monitoring-measuring and diagnostic devices; senior sergeants Stoev and Plachkov--driving instructors--are not only mastering the machines and improving their systematic skills but at the same time they study the troops' resources for repair and evacuation of the armored tank equipment.

Experience clearly shows that when the sergeants have thoroughly studied the arms and equipment, learned correctly how to operate and use them in combat, then the subordinates from the crews, platoons, and detachments also properly acquire the necessary special preparation, which is reflected positively in the assembly of the subdivisions.

Mastering the complex models of military arms and equipment cannot take place in a short period of time. The sergeants' knowledge of the construction and the regulations for use of the equipment is accumulated; habits and skills are formed, strengthened, and improved constantly through methods established in the army and forms of education within the system of the commanders' preparation, through driving classes, preparation on technical equipment, firing and tactics, in each educational or production activity related to arms and equipment.

The regular process of studying, as a regulated educational activity, offers the most favorable conditions for a systematic improvement of the general and specific preparation of the sergeants from all the units, their growth into masters in the specialty and into valued commanders assistants for education of the personnel. A special place here is reserved for the classes on vocational improvement and on methodology of commanding and instructing. In order to attain the assigned goals, it is necessary to adopt a concrete and differentiated approach to the selection of the subjects for these classes and to take into account the difference in the sergeants' functional obligations.

The curricula for the sergeants' staff which is directly involved in technical weapons training and driving of motorized tank equipment, as instructors and assistant instructors of classes or at training facilities, should include subjects for expanding knowledge of the arms and equipment and discussion of questions which will improve primarily their methodological preparation. Whereas for the sergeants who directly use arms and equipment (driver-mechanics, chauffeurs, station chiefs, etc.), it is advisable to put the stress mostly on the necessary knowledge and practical skills for correct use, management, maintenance, and storage of the materiel; the sergeant-specialists from the repair-rehabilitation subdivisions, on the other hand, should discuss such topics which ensure broadening the general technical knowledge and improvement of practical habits in the specialized production activity.

A positive experience in this respect is the example of the outfit in which officers Angelov, Tonev, and Petrov serve. It has become a tradition for them to lead the classes in technical preparation at a high methodological level. Most of the sergeants in these outfits have developed into valued specialists, masters in their field. Well distinguished here are first sergeants Milenkov, Toshev, Yordanov, Nikolov, Neshev, Tsvetkov, and many others who perfectly master the assigned arms and equipment; transfer systematically, correctly, and willingly their knowledge and experience of many years to the soldiers and to their younger colleagues with the same specialty. With their excellent work, they contribute greatly to the prompt mastery of arms and equipment and their permanent maintenance in good technical condition and combat readiness.

In order to master the arms and equipment to the point of perfection, it is very important to study thoroughly fundamental subjects and questions. An object of detailed study could be the following: how to get equipment ready for work and mobility under various conditions; construction of devices for night-vision and aiming, their capabilities and peculiarities of their preparation for work and use; the principle of functions, capabilities, and instructions for the use of the navigational apparatus mounted in the armored tank equipment; control preparation of machines for overcoming large water barriers by swimming under water as well; use of tracking equipment and thermal-fuming apparatuses in the course of the battle; discovery and elimination of typical malfunctions while using equipment, observation and communication devices; characteristics of preparing and managing combat equipment in the special cases of driving in winter, in mountains, and others.

The systematic training and exercises in the course of the planned classes represent an obligatory condition for mastery of the equipment and arms. Unfortunately, there are still sergeants around who count on old knowledge and practical skill, who take advantage of different situations in order to get away from the planned classes, miss exercises and training. As a result, it often happens that such "specialists" and "masters" cannot handle simple technical difficulties in using the materiel, they seem helpless, are left behind in their preparation, cannot support their speciality in class, and undermine their own prestige.

In the outfit in which officer Petrov serves, a particular contribution to the thorough study of the regular army equipment and arms and the characteristics of their exploitation is the rational utilization of park custodial days and seasonal technical service, during which each sergeant from the staff of the crews, platoons, from the established specialized brigades and guards, and the specialist from the different types of troops, has the possibility to learn the technique of separate maintenance operations, to perform personally control, regulating, dismantling, and assembly and other special or preventative operations, in the process of which he should broaden and extend his knowledge, improve his practical skills. Not much is required in order to make these possibilities real. It is enough to take conscientiously the personal function obligations and, most of all, to be deeply convinced of the necessity to increase constantly the level of personal technical preparation and the amount of training in practical activity.

Various forms of technical propaganda--individual lectures on basic questions, papers relating the new achievements in combat arms and equipment, technical discussion groups and conferences, discussion of educational films and materials published in military-technical journals, competitions for masterful command of arms and equipment, and others--also offer great opportunities for and extensive mastery of arms and equipment if they have been well thought out, prepared, and purposefully applied.

It should not be forgotten that mastering complicated models of contemporary combat technology, systems, and equipment is not conceivable without systematic, persistent, and independent work with the textbooks, materiel, and the training facilities. It is very important to encourage the efforts of the junior sergeants to use technical literature and to fill in by themselves the gaps in their own special and general technical preparation. Conscientious and well planned self-preparation, combined with the organized short-term assemblies and special classes, is the foundation for successfully improving and confirming the sergeants' course speciality--which is a qualitative indicator of the extent to which they have learned and mastered the assigned material.

Most favorable conditions for further improvement of the combat mastery are created during the tactical lessons and classes and tactical training with combat firing, where, in a complex and dynamic situation, the knowledge and skills of the crews, platoons, and specialists are applied so that maximum use of the combat capacities of arms and equipment can be attained.

Socialist competition in the educational and production activity reveals inexhaustible resources for expanding the participation and initiative of the sergeants from the subdivisions in striving for exemplary mastery of arms and equipment, maintenance of their reliability and flawless exploitation.

In this respect, the first sergeant specialists on armored tank equipment, Stoychev and Bakhov, serve as an example. Their active participation in the movement for Technical and Scientific Youth Creativity is a great contribution for improving the quality of production activity for maintenance of the arms and equipment and the perfection of the educational and material basis.

The necessary conditions for increasing the effectiveness and quality of education are being created in each subdivision and unit. All that is needed is a clearly stated goal, persistence, and the desire to learn more and more, to acquire more and better skills. This is how the task of mastering the arms and equipment to the point of perfection will be successfully solved, and it will answer the Party's appeal to maintain constant combat mastery and continuously to improve the combat mastery of the personnel.

Inspired by the decisions of the 12th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the sergeants from the subdivisions and units will render their contribution with a sense of responsibility in order to fulfill, in a timely and qualitative way, this difficult and responsible task.

12334  
CSO: 2200/76

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NEW APPROACH TO MILITARY EQUIPMENT REPAIR FOR 1980'S OUTLINED

East Berlin MILITAERSCHNIK in German No 2, 1983 (signed to press 11 Jan 83)  
pp 57-59

/Interview by MILITAERTECHNIK editorial staff with Maj Gen H. Noack, chief, Repair Administration, National People's Army (NVA); date and place of interview not given: "Attain a New Quality of Industrial Repair Through Scientific-Technical Preparation"/



/Text/ /Question/ Comrade Major General! How do you assess the contribution being made by the GDR economy with industrial repair of combat systems, arms and equipment for a constantly high level of fighting strength and combat readiness of the NVA?

/Answer/ The industrial repair of combat systems, arms and equipment has gained additional importance and has become a major element of the material and technical guaranteeing of the fighting strength and combat readiness of the NVA.

The CDR economy is pursuing this development and is making great efforts to meet the demands for industrial repair being placed on it and at the same time to meet the qualitative demands of the 1980's.

The overwhelming part of the need of our armed forces for industrial repair is met in the enterprises of the national economy. Thus, it is clear that in this area the GDR economy is making a direct active contribution to assuring a high level of combat readiness for the NVA materially and technically. Being aware of this, both sides, the GDR economy and the NVA, have developed a good working relationship. For it is only together that the increasingly complicated tasks can be solved quantitatively and qualitatively, as well as with high military economic effectiveness.

The third repair conference of the National Defense Ministry took place shortly after the 10th SED Congress. Its goal, in evaluating the decisions of the 10th party congress, was to determine the development of the industrial repair of combat systems, arms and equipment in the 1980's. There were further discussions following the third, fourth and fifth sessions of our party's Central Committee, especially with industrial groups and enterprises to carry out the decisions made by the party leadership in the area of industrial repair rapidly and constructively.

Question / What is the effect of the further development of weapons and equipment on industrial repair?

Answer / A characteristic of the latest generation of combat systems and arms is the increased transition to weapons systems and aggregates. With the introduction of microelectronics into combat systems, arms and equipment, with the increasing use of measurement, control and regulation technology and with the use of electronic and optical-electronic components, as well as pneumatic and electro-hydraulic construction groups, there were more opportunities for automation, new ideas and procedural technologies arose and there was an improvement in combat and battle qualities.

Some examples may illustrate the resulting demands on the organization, preparation and realization of industrial repair.

The repair of this military technology requires a high level of specialization with a simultaneous reduction in cooperation beyond the enterprise level.

Whereas in the past it was still possible, with a few exceptions, to have repair work on special parts of combat systems, arms and equipment be performed in specialized enterprises as cooperative efforts, today, for technical and technological reasons alone, that is hardly possible any longer, or only at a very high national and military economic cost. That is, the pressure for complex repair is becoming greater all the time. New repair lines and thus new works as well, previously not typical for the repair enterprises, must be made part of the repair process, for example the specialties of electronics, optics, measurement, control and regulation technology, microelectronics, arithmetics and others.

The resulting consequences are obvious. The specialized enterprises and industrial groups are not thereby relieved of the responsibility for assuring that the need is met. The nature of their task changes to the extent that above all they must assure the preparation of the repair and the overall control together with the final repair enterprise, and, as far as possible, the supply of spare parts and the reclaiming of wear parts. It is no easy job for the national economy to do that and it requires more than organizational organizational measures. It requires a thorough rethinking. Therefore, it is above all a question of ideology. One must thereby begin with the premise of responsibility for the further strengthening of the national defense of our republic.

[Question] The 10th party congress demands more efficiency in all areas of the GDR economy. What conclusions can be drawn from that for industrial repair?

[Answer] When the 10th party congress decided to lead the GDR economy and in conjunction with that all other social areas as well to greater efficiency, that is, to a better cost-benefit relationship, the army was not excluded. In his orders, the minister for national defense clearly demands that all members of the army and civilian employees develop more cost-effective military thinking.

Comrade Colonel General Kessler, assistant to the minister and chief of the Political Main Administration, expressed that in this way in his contribution to the discussion during the fourth plenum:

"It is important to penetrate ever deeper into the relationships between the military necessities and economic requirements and, as a good socialist member of the military, one also needs to be a qualified economist."

It, then, is a matter of employing the material and financial resources available to us to the greatest advantage for combat readiness. It follows that in the process of industrial repair of combat systems, arms and equipment, only that can and should be done which is militarily necessary. The cost-benefit relationship is to be foremd so as to assure the greatest possible advantage for combat readiness.

These requirements were put into practice in the formulation of the new legal provisions and military regulations such as, for example, the delivery regulations, the planning and repair regulations, and in the conclusions of the third repair conference. We thereby acknowledge the fact that the social development of the GDR in the 1970's has taken a rapid and progressive course. More favorable conditions arose for solving the tasks involved in the material and technical securing of national defense. At this point, I want only to point out the formation of the industrial groups and the economic power thus created and further developed.

Thus, all of the prerequisites exist to meet the increased quantitative and qualitative demands on industrial repair while at the same time increasing its efficiency, assuring the militarily necessary quality and a high degree

of economy in energy and material. It is a matter of making practical use, sensibly and consistently without loss of time for all processes of industrial repair, of that which was established and directed in the legal provisions and military regulations.

Question How are these tasks of industrial repair to be carried out in the economy and how do you carry on these processes in your area?

Answer It will be clear from my brief statements that industrial repair is quite a complicated process and is complex in nature. Those working in this area must have extensive military, military-technical and military-economic knowledge, be familiar with technology, understand economics and have the corresponding practical experience. Further, these problems are solvable only when good cooperation is assured with repair recipients and with industry.

In this connection, I would like to indicate the often-overlooked basic concern of industrial repair of combat systems, arms and equipment. Its principal purpose is not to repair damage but at a previously determined time to restore combat value diminished by wear and tear, with the goal of returning full combat value to these systems for a determined period of use. This task is often associated with modernization to improve the combat and battle value of the systems, whereby the latest scientific and technical information, as well as practical experience, is considered.

That was pointed out emphatically during the third repair conference, along with the fact that establishing objectives and increasing efficiency are an indivisible unit. When it involves the most efficient means of solving these problems, then here new ways are sought and demanded. For industry, it primarily involves up-to-date technologies and procedures, above all for the scientific and technical preparation of repair but also attending to repair series already under way. The army's concern is to put through and to qualify the work with concepts for use and maintenance. As a result of the third repair conference, a whole group of tasks associated with the goals of industrial repair was compiled. They represent the basis for managing all processes of industrial repair in accordance with the demands of the 1980's. Here I would like to point out only some of the tasks that will determine the trend, especially in the near future:

1. Scientific and technical progress is to be carried through consistently, especially in the preparation of repair through the development of efficient technological processes and procedures and in accelerating their practical application.
2. In industrial repair, complex repair is to be further developed, cooperative work is to be reduced and downtime is to be further decreased through direct exchange, reduction of transit time and optimization of transport.
3. There is to be an accelerated repair of modular groups, especially for the direct needs of the troop.

4. The restoration of wear parts is to be expanded and the enterprises are to do more self-production of spare parts to replace imports.

5. High material economy is to be assured through maximum employment of consumption resources and the reuse of all components and individual parts whose wear does not exceed allowable tolerances.

Additional conclusions and tasks that are no less important should make a significant contribution to increasing efficiency, quality and material economy, as well as to reducing downtime and transport costs.

From the total complex, I would again like to emphasize the scientific and technical preparation of industrial repair. From time to time, the standpoint is taken that the previous method of preparation in the form of sample repairs was, after all, good and adequate, that the new method just creates greater costs for us.

On the surface that seems to be just right. If, however, one delves deeper, then it becomes clear that this standpoint is untenable. The transition to scientific and technical preparation is not a matter of form, not a name change just to appear scientific. Instead, this transition is based on an objective requirement resulting from the fact that combat systems, arms and equipment for the 1980's demand a new approach to their repair. Technologies and procedures are needed that give us high efficiency, make possible savings in the use of material, reduce necessary imports to a minimum and increase self-restoration of components and individual parts.

We must cease viewing repair enterprises as disassembly and assembly shops that can carry out industrial repair work only with a high level of cooperation. The complexity of the new weapons systems requires new system solutions. The opportunities for cooperation are declining. In addition, there is the requirement for further modular-group repair, restoration and spare-parts production. All of that must be solved under the absolute need to increase further the efficiency of industrial repair in its totality. These quite complicated problems can no longer be solved without appropriate preparation. In the long run, they must be integrated into the national economic plans and objectives with the appropriate weight. The past has provided enough examples to show that where the tasks for preparing industrial repair are correctly incorporated from the outset and the problems are taken on as a complex using the required scientific method, the subsequent process of accomplishment occurs relatively smoothly.

Scientific and technical preparation is the real key to performing industrial repair. The other conclusions that I have named must be solved from the basic concern likewise already in the process of scientific and technical preparation. That does not mean that in the process of realizing further work does not need to be done in individual areas. One of our main demands on industry is that it open up additional ways to reduce total expenditures by using the experiences of repair preparation and of real wear in the delivered systems.

/Question/ How should the troop support the industrial repair?

/Answer/ I would like to narrow this question somewhat and formulate it this way: What can the troop do to support a very effective solution to the problems of the industrial repair of combat systems, arms and equipment? I would like once again to emphasize the minister's demand for the most economic use of the available material and financial resources. The most important thing is to put through strict discipline and order in handling the combat systems, arms and equipment, along with use and maintenance in accordance with regulations. This is to be combined with a high level of training for the commanders, crews and operators with the goal of avoiding damage and carrying out the required maintenance in high quality and in a timely manner.

A further possibility involves repair planning corresponding to real wear with optimum use of consumption resources.

Not least, it requires a much stricter discipline and order in the delivery for industrial repair in time in accordance with contracts. Non-delivery and late deliveries, deliveries not in accordance with the contracts and missing parts are clear violations of orders and military regulations. Violations in this or that direction, damage, inadmissible operations, etc. always have material and financial consequences. They increase expenditures, require additional labor and material, raise costs and reduce the efficiency of industrial repair. In the end, they mean economic loss and a decline in combat readiness and always lead to the delayed return of repaired combat systems, arms and equipment to the troop. As Colonel General Fleissner, assistant to the minister and chief for systems and arms, essentially said, every extra hour of labor time, every extra spare part and every extra mark is a loss and a gift to the enemy. The concern of all of us should be to prevent that.

9746  
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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

WIRE-GUIDED ANTITANK MISSILE TRAINING DETAILED

East Berlin AR--ARMEERUNDSCHAU in German No 4, Apr 83 (signed to press 17 Feb 83)  
pp 36-41

[Article by Lt Col Horst Spickereit: "Rockets on the Wire: With Eagle Eyes and Fingertip Feeling, NCO Candidate Roger Stoffenberger Guides Them to the Target. The 19-Year-Old Construction Worker From Geltow Describes the First Months of His Training as Gunner in the ATGM (Antitank Guided Missile) Battery of the 'Arthur Ladwig' Unit"]

[Text] "I would like that," I said to the officer at the kreis military command when he told me some things about antitank guided missiles and also showed me pictures of the armored personnel carrier which conveys this weapon. "Such a vehicle already has me interested, since there must be a lot of action here." Because I am a person who likes to be with people, who needs excitement, not monotonous activity. So I agreed to serve for 3 years as an NCO in such an armed-forces branch.

Following general basic military training, I was sent to the doctor along with some other soldiers. He examined our ears and eyes thoroughly and conducted a color test. "Fit for service," he said to me. I did not understand why all that was necessary. Not until later, when Sergeant Weste, an instructor in the battery, spoke to me did I surmise what was to be in store for me. "I would like to let you in on 'most secret' matters," he said to me, taking me into a large vehicle of the GAZ type. "This here is a training device. The same launching equipment as in the armored personnel carrier." I was speechless when I looked around me for the first time: A multitude of instruments and equipment!

Sergeant Weste showed me the operations to be performed for the missile launching. "Now you give it a try," he asked me. I looked through the optics. On a picture tube a bright point floated down from above which had to be brought into a small ellipse by means of a steering lever. I gripped the lever with both hands and in jerky movements chased the point back and forth. Things went on like this for 9 or 10 attempts. Only twice did I touch the ellipse. Was I to be trained on this? I groaned: "I will never be able to do it!" But the sergeant only smiled: "It's all a matter of practice."

Again I had to undergo examinations. This time also on a psychological test device. Here, various figures were to be retraced with a pin, without touching their borders. Reaction speed and steady hand control were tested in this way. After the first round, I was made to lift up a 37.5-kg barbell 10 times, then

go back to the device. This time things went even faster and better! I surprised myself. And then came the roll call in the hall of our unit. The battery commander read off the names of those who had passed and who were to be trained as gunners. When my name was spoken, I was extremely pleased. You have done it, you will be allowed to sit in an armored personnel carrier, travel into the countryside, and control a missile. I was to be trained as first gunner of the platoon, which is a sort of group leader.

Now there was constant work with the trainer apparatus. It became my most important equipment. Nearly every day I have to complete up to 30 launching exercises. By hand. It is true that the missile, which is guided by a wire, can also be launched semi-automatically. In such a case, I use the elevating and traversing mechanisms to bring the crosshairs onto the target and then set loose the missile, which moves by itself to the sighted object. But since it is possible for the adversary to interfere with the semi-automatic guidance system by means of infrared sources, the emphasis of the training still rests with hand guidance. This system cannot be jammed.

In the initial weeks I did not look good. I made many mistakes. It took me quite some time to comprehend that one's hands are to be placed in semi-cupped fashion around the steering lever, and that only the thumbs and index fingers need to touch the lever to guide it carefully, with fingertip feeling. And a gunner must have keen sight, like eagle eyes, in order to spot targets in his firing sector and to observe the missile in its flight. I must be able to observe all this for a distance of up to 3 kilometers. For about two thirds of its course, the missile is guided at a safe altitude above the ground so that it does not hit any mound of earth or shrubbery. Not until shortly before reaching the target is one allowed to slowly direct it down to the target level. In order to master this technique, one must first have a feeling for missile speeds. For 1,000 meters, it takes about 8 seconds. So we count along softly.

The whole thing is then "spiced up" with additional pressures on us. Then we have to work with gas masks on. Or between launching series, we must tax ourselves physically: Run for 200 meters or do 20 press-ups. When gasping for breath, one counts more rapidly. Thus here as well we had to train ourselves to have the correct time rhythm. I cursed so many times when mistakes were repeated. "You must not view this so grimly," the instructor encouraged me. "Our guidance operations are like bicycling. Once one has learned them, things go pretty smoothly after that."

Sometimes when I thought that I had understood everything, he nevertheless put on such a good show that my reactions were almost chaotic. Because he can set up weather conditions on the trainer which affect the flight conditions and interfere with my sight on the missile and on the target. So at one point you have the missile a short distance in front of the target--in a flash it is gone! He smiled slyly: "I only want to show that the training must go on. You are just starting. There is still much to learn!"

One should not think from this that this instructor wants to trip me up. No, no. I find that Sergeant Weste is a swell guy. In fact, I look upon him as a friend. He explains readily and is not annoyed when I ask him something for the...upteenth time. I can go to him at any time when I have something on

my mind. I like this sort of person. That is better than when you are at a loss with someone you do not feel easy about asking questions to, because you are given a dirty look. The other superiors are also like the sergeant. On the whole I would say that I have gotten into a good unit. We know each other, understand each other, and are like a big family. Such a thing puts one in a mood to serve. I feel good being with the "Lenkis" [short for "Lenkschuetzen": missile gunners]--which is what our battery is often called by others.

I realized one thing long ago: A gunner must train constantly. If he does not stick to it, what happens is like in school: There also, a good many things are forgotten after a few weeks if nobody asks about them. One's motions must become second nature, because one is not given the opportunity to reflect on what comes next. The missile is wonderful and responds flawlessly. But the success of the firing depends on the gunner. He must be the master over the missile. The best weapon is useless if the gunner does not have the necessary knowledge and skill. We have here such a soldier, who cannot concentrate well and who sometimes is uneasy at the equipment. He is not making much progress, despite all the help. Well, he will surely be dismissed soon as a gunner.

If one wants to guide the missile satisfactorily, he should always keep himself physically fit as well. I run a good many laps and vault again and again over the escalade wall. I am ready to use this weapon at a moment's notice--that's what matters. Not only for a practice session, but also in a situation of defense, if that becomes necessary. I am cognizant of my responsibility toward my brothers-in-arms, the motorized gunners or artillerymen. I have to repel enemy tanks, keep them from breaking through. That is a vital task. Important for my own protection, but also for our country. Therefore I do not think of my training as fooling around. I have done about 800 hand launches in the first 12 months on the trainer. Under these uncomplicated conditions, an average hit rate of 95 percent!

But I know that this can only be the beginning. I must and want to master the weapon even better. Under complicated battle conditions as well. I would like to be able to handle it perfectly. Perhaps in the way it is handled by Lieutenant Kotzerke, one of our platoon leaders. Because he can change over with lightning speed from semi-automatic to hand guidance while the missile is in flight. That is really something!

A hit with the first missile--this is what we FDJ [Free German Youth] members have made up our minds to do. Also I regard this as a matter of my pride and my honor. Not only to avoid what a miss would entail--the ridicule of the others, who would then say: "What a washout you are!" But also in order to be quicker than the attacker! If I do not make a hit, the other party--its shot--can now snuff out our lives. Therefore at first I was taken aback but then very pleased when the battery commander informed another young soldier and me that soon we would be allowed to fire off a live missile in an exercise. "This is an exception, because you have gone through only a short training period. But you are the best among the new gunners," he said. I was jubilant. That is an honor. I felt that things were going well, that it has all been worthwhile.

But in military life, not everything goes according to one's wishes. Upon arriving at the military camp, it was announced that the battery would not be allowed to shoot after all. Forest-fire Stage IV! The countryside had been dry for weeks, and the danger of a fire was very great. Naturally I understood the reasons for all this, but I admit that I was also disappointed. Who knows when I will be given an opportunity again to shoot with live ammunition? Nevertheless, I am not despondent. I will continue to train intensively. Eagle eyes and fingertip feeling must not become dormant!

12114  
CSO: 2300/226

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

NEW GST PREMILITARY TRAINING PROGRAMS OUTLINED

Frankfurt/Main SOLDAT UND TECHNIK in German Vol 36 No 3, Mar 83 p 148

[Article signed 'r/c': "New Training Programs for the Society for Sport and Technology (GST): Now Two Years of Premilitary Career Training for the National People's Army (NVA)"]

[Text] The Society for Sport and Technology (GST), the premilitary training organization of the GDR, has announced new programs for the training of GDR youths at its seventh congress. The new training programs, which allegedly became necessary due to "the critical situation caused by imperialism and its strategy of confrontation," went into effect as of the start of the 1982-83 training year, i.e., 1 September 1982.

Up to now the GST premilitary training of male youths, starting at age 16, had been divided into two phases:

One year of "premilitary basic training" and

Subsequently one year of "premilitary training for a career in the National People's Army (NVA)."

The new regulation has now completely abolished the premilitary basic training as an independent phase. Instead GST is concentrating exclusively on the premilitary career training for the NVA during the 2 years available to it. This change has been possible because, among other reasons, general premilitary basic training is already covered extensively by the military instruction given in the 9th and 10th grades of school. This instruction, plus participation in compulsory GST training, went into effect under the new Military Service Law of the GDR on 1 May 1982.

The new training programs of the GST have been coordinated with the training regulations of the NVA. Likewise the terminology of the GST has been adapted to that of the NVA. Thus for example, "field training" is no longer called by that name but rather "tactical training" as in the NVA. There will be a general intensification of all career training programs, especially marksmanship training as well as "physical fitness" training, as it used to be called up to now, which according to NVA terminology is now called "physical training." These programs are designed--according to the GST publication SPORT

UND TECHNIK--"to prepare the youngsters for the high physical demands of army service. The primary objective is to attain good ratings in physical fitness and stamina." Night training is also part of the training programs for all careers. The seven different career training programs are described in detail:

**Motorized Rifle Career:** Marksmanship constitutes the special point of emphasis. Toward this end, combating a group target following advancement and engagement has been added as a new subject. The training subject of tactics has been defined substantively. The new subject of "Special Training" is designed as an introduction to the weaponry and technology of the VNA ground forces as well as training in radio communications.

**Military Driver Career:** In the present two-year premilitary driver training the emphasis is on driving motor vehicles in accordance with the legal regulations in force as well as with NVA regulations. In addition training is given in driving following maps and march route sketches.

**Communications Specialist (Teletype Operator) Career:** This career replaces the previous special career training of key operators and teletypists. The participants now acquire such telecommunication and operational knowledge and skills which enable them to carry out simple radio and telephone operations immediately upon assignment to whatever telecommunications unit. A specific number of them will be given advanced training as key operators and/or teletypists at bezirk training centers.

**Military Pilot Career:** The new program focuses to an ever greater degree on the specific demands made on NVA pilots. New elements are practical training in formation flying, introduction of special physical training and of parachute training. Aerobatic and instrument flight training are to be improved.

**Specialist Seamen Career:** In this career the characteristics of life on board are strongly emphasized. Moreover more time will be spent on practical training, and instruction on board training ships will be expanded.

**Paratrooper Career and Diver Career:** Interestingly the GDR press gives no specific information on the new subjects of these careers. The press merely states that the special training program for paratroopers will include new elements and intensified physical training. Since both the paratroopers and the frogmen of the NVA are designated for diversionary operations (commando raids), the new programs may well stress also these types of operations. Thus there is good reason for the restraint on the part of the GDR press.

The goal of the new programs for the premilitary training of the GST is spelled out most clearly by the following quotation from SPORT UND TECHNIK: "The common thread running through all these programs is obviously the intent to prepare the youth more purposefully and comprehensively in the training to meet the current and future demands of army service and to teach them to consciously maintain discipline and unquestioningly (!) carry out with initiative any orders or instructions."

By extending this premilitary training to two years, the NVA--where those subject to military service must at any rate serve 18 months--will gain even more time for unit and combined forces training during the actual period of military service.

12349  
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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PACIFISTS DEMAND STRONGER CHURCH INVOLVEMENT IN PEACE ISSUE

Lay-Church Leadership Tension

West Berlin DIE TAGESZEITUNG in German 12 Apr 83 p 8

[ 'Background' report by Protestant Press Service and TAGESZEITUNG (epd/taz); "New Letter from Jena: East Berlin Synod for Stronger Peace Involvement." The translated text of the letter to the Bishop of Thuringia, cited below, signed by 23 Jena citizens, follows this report]

[Text] The meeting of the synod of the Protestant Church of Berlin-Brandenburg opened on Friday [8 April], in the East Berlin Stefanus Home with reminders of the "gravest errors" of the church 50 years ago under National Socialism.

During the opening speeches, Pastor Manfred Becker quoted passages from the minutes of the regional synod of 1933 where the German-Christian majority had decided to apply the "Aryan Clauses" of the Hitler government to the church. In shocked reaction to this decision, Becker asked how far "responsible leaders of our church could at that time depart from the gospel and human values." The 1933 synod concluded with "official salutes for the people's chancellor and fuehrer" and with the singing of the Horst Wessel Song. Becker said that memories of that "unfortunate chapter" in the history of the Brandenburg Church should "contribute to a permanent readiness for penance and humility, and to a continuous examination of all our thoughts and decisions."

A report by General Superintendent Erich Schopan (Eberswalde) dealt exclusively with questions of church responsibility for peace.

In this report, church leaders are encouraging Christians in the GDR to intensify their commitment to peace, and to pray for all "who must suffer because of their witness for peace." The commitment to pacifism, the report says, is "the more definite signal for peace."

No war aim, the report continues, can still justify the use of force, and the defense of socialism can also succeed only through peaceful means. The Sermon on the Mount, the report says, proves its "political usefulness" especially in the present critical situation. The confrontations in 1982 between the government, the church and young Christians in the question of wearing the emblem

"Swords Into Plowshares" resulted in resignation and bitterness among those involved, even though some individual cases of injustice could be "cleared up."

"With a certain degree of concern," the church is aware "that in the question of peace there is tension between the grass roots and the leadership of the church." This tension can be decreased only through patient dialog. In peace circles of the church problems are also discussed by people for whom this kind of activity is an expression of boredom with the government, political opposition or inner immigration."

These statements can clearly be understood as an indirect reference to the criticism that has been leveled for months against the church leadership in Thuringia by young Christians from Jena, Rudolstadt and Sallfeld, criticism that was expressed in written form in a letter in February which was also published in Western newspapers and contains the charge that the church leadership did not react to the peace actions in Jena, to the arrest of young people from the Jena peace group, and that it did not protect these people. This letter contains the following statement, among others:

"In our obligation before God, we see ourselves as peacemakers. Thus we want to stand up against those who cause unrest. Our commitment to Jesus is first of all, of course, restricted to the church proper. But there is a boundary beyond which silence outside the church proper becomes a contribution to guilt.

"Once before in recent German history all Christians were faced with this painful question. We consider ourselves as being part of the tradition of the Confessing Church. We cannot reject responsibility when it becomes inconvenient for us."

In the beginning of March, the people who had been arrested in Jena were unexpectedly released because, and this is not the least important reason, in the FRG, too, pressure by the peace movement against government measures by GDR authorities toward the independent peace movement has resulted in open protests as a result of which GDR authorities could for the first time not react with open repressions against the independent peace groups in their own country. Thus, in the middle of March, the Jena group participated in an official peace rally commemorating the 38th anniversary of the bombing of Jena, a rally where members of the Peace Group Jena displayed their own banners with the slogan "Make Peace Without Arms." Even though these banners were immediately torn down by state security agents in civilian clothes and some of the demonstrators were roughed up, nobody was arrested.

But these confrontations are by no means over. Church leaders report that currently 10 young people from the Brandenburg Church District who are eligible for the draft are in detention because they refuse to serve in the armed forces: 3 of them are refusing absolutely, 6 have refused to serve in the reserves after completing their active duty, and 1 who in 1982 was drafted into the army against his will and who, after persisting in his intention to serve without arms, was sentenced to several months in prison.

Confrontations between the Jena group and the church leadership in Thuringia are also continuing. Thus, TAGESZEITUNG received another letter directed to the District Bishop of Thuringia and signed personally by 23 Jena citizens which says that there has been a meeting on 1 March between the District Bishop and the Jena group. In this letter the Jena group tries to explain its concrete situation. In addition, consequences are pointed out, resignation is described, as well as the fact that certain individual members of the group want to leave the GDR. (See documentation)

#### Jena Citizens' Letter

West Berlin DIE TAGESZEITUNG in German 12 Apr 83 p 8

[ 'Documentation' reprint of letter addressed "To the District Bishop of Thuringia," datelined Jena, 10 March 1983, "signed by 23 Jena citizens--Copies to all Protestant bishops in the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR" (BEK) ]

[Text] The existing ambiguities which even our discussion with you on 1 March 1983 could not clear up make it necessary for us to continue our dialog. For your own better understanding we would now like to clarify our concrete situation. In our letter of 3 February 1983 we pointed out that our action and behavior is strongly determined by Christian values and goals. All of us are looking for ways and possibilities to express our views. We see ourselves united in our commitment to a life of justice, peace and understanding. On the basis of our personal experiences, all of us are trying to do justice to our responsibilities within the human community.

Not all of those arrested and those affected by the arrests are members of the Christian community. Not all of them accept with an open mind the church as an institution. Not all of them see for themselves opportunities to do justice to their own lives in the GDR. All of us are united in our intention and readiness to make a commitment to our faith and our hopes. We do not want to protest only against existing injustice, against the threatening danger of war, against militarization, militant education and the lack of willingness to discuss problems, but instead we also want to make an open commitment to our view of life. We come from different conditions and backgrounds. All of us share a deep desire for a humane, peaceful life within a community. We are not ashamed to call this movement within us a peace movement.

We are united through solidarity. The actions and behavior of an individual are valid for the common cause and applicable to all others. As a community of solidarity we are without institutional framework, specific location and platform.

The feeling of being left alone and the continued encounter with a lack of understanding and rejection by church and state authorities have become for many young people a cause of resignation and of an attitude of adapting to necessity. Many people are faced with the regrettable necessity of having to step across the boundaries of limitations and legalities in order to preserve their existence and dignity. Concrete action for the preservation of peace

is for us a decision of conscience and faith. The range of our options is very small because of church, government and social conditions. In our time of excessive nuclear armament and explosive tensions between the world powers, the preservation of peace is our primary and most urgent task, and it requires the commitment of all people in their search for new and larger fields of action. We do not see ourselves as lawbreakers if in doing what is necessary we do not first inquire about legal bases.

Dear Bishop!

We are aware of the difficulties of the church in regard to its own commitment to peace. We know that the primary task of the church is to preach the Christian message and to provide opportunities for a dialog with God. We understand that necessity must set limitations for the church in spite of the church's openness. We respect the church's efforts to communicate with government dignitaries and authorities. And we find it necessary to point out to the church problems that should once more be thoroughly reexamined:

1. Is not the fact that the number of people who wish to leave the country is continually rising an alarm signal of greatest significance?
2. Cannot people practice Christian commitment and follow Christ without being tied to a specific confession? Is it not important to give and ear and a voice to independent people?
3. Is it not a challenge for the church when the demands of people for disarmament, for solution of conflicts without force, for pacifism and justice are interpreted as "criminal?" Does not following the example of Jesus include the task of sharing in whatever concrete situation the love that Jesus preached and lived?

We hope very much that our openness and our questions will contribute to enriching and giving concrete form to the church's discussion of the possibilities of peace commitment. We want to support the church's own efforts to preserve peace, and we want to help open up new opportunities.

We hope for an understanding of our problems, and we trust in the solidarity of the church.

8889  
CSO: 2300/222

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PROTESTANT SYNODS FEAR PROSPECT OF 'COMPLETE MILITARIZATION'

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 3-4 Apr 83 pp 3-4

[Article signed 'sk,' datelined Berlin, 1 April: "GDR Church Worrying About Military Education of Youth-Protestant Synods Warn Against Enemy Images"]

[Text] At the spring synods of member churches of the Federation of Protestant Churches in the GDR (BEK) prior to the Easter festival, concern about a continued arms race and the growing militarization of public life were the dominating issues. Reservation was voiced repeatedly in this connection that the church and its followers could get more and more under pressure and qualms of conscience in connection with the planned deployment of American Pershing II missiles in the FRG in case of a failure of the Geneva INF negotiations. At the same time the GDR leadership was urged to abstain from the demonstration of military power and from the taking of measures in connection with campaigning for the armed forces which would call in question the credibility of the state's peace policy. Bishop Leich of Thuringia pointed out in this connection the gap between the humanistic claim of the state and the reality of everyday life in the GDR. It is, therefore, inevitable that the concern voiced by the politically responsible with regard to people in everyday life must be "experienced" by everybody, he said.

Resolutions

In a resolution unanimously adopted by the Mecklenburg Territorial Synod, the synod members voiced concern about the campaigning methods with which young people in the GDR are being urged to enlist for several years of military service and the career of an officer. In this connection the "systematic propagation of military conception among children and young people" was pointed out. The resolution says that anyone wanting the Geneva negotiations to be successful must pay attention to his credibility.

A resolution which was unanimously adopted by the Saxony Territorial Church was composed in a similar way. The GDR leadership is being reminded of the preparedness demonstrated by Chancellor Kohl and State Council Chairman Honecker to create peace with less and less weapons, and making a symbolic step in this direction is suggested by demanding "to cut down militarization in education and upbringing." The SED leadership is also urged to respect the engagement of those who make "independent efforts for peace" and to abstain from exerting pressure in campaigning for military professions.

The synod of the Goerlitz Church also dealt extensively with the issue of increased military education of the youth in the educational institutions of the state and in state-owned plants. The church management and the synod members regretted that it was so far impossible, in view of the dispute between the state and the church about the introduction of military instruction in schools, to have a talk demanded long ago with the state leadership about similar rights and similar respect for Christians in schools.

[DW061255] Calls for a Talk With the Government

The church is pressing for this talk particularly because the political education of the youth by the FDJ is assuming a more and more military character. The request of the church to abstain from the systematic propagation of military ideas among children and young people, however, is likely to be ignored. The FDJ central organ in its Easter edition campaigns emphatically in the way criticized by the synods for the enlistment of young people for several years of military service and for the career of an officer.

In a report headlined "Determination of Position" FDJ University students point out the necessity of being trained to become a reserve officer of the National People's Army (NVA). It is being admitted simultaneously, however, that resistance exists among young people. When the matter of becoming a reserve officer was discussed in the FDJ group, not everybody could be motivated in a serious talk to agree. The report admits indirectly that pressure is being exerted on young people trying to evade enlistment. Despite the objection of some students, the FDJ group leadership kept "going on" because it believed that the protection of peace is the vital problem, and, therefore, a matter concerning everybody, a matter for the sake of which additional strain must be accepted, says the report.

State Praise for Hatred

Not only the campaigning methods for the armed forces and the dissemination of a militarist way of thinking in educational institutions of the state have been criticized at the spring synods. The image of the enemy presented in public and among the armed forces gave reason for increasing concern. Bishop Leich warned emphatically against demonstratively forming images of the enemy which would lead in the end to a complete militarization of the country, making the preparedness to solve conflicts without force for recognizable any more. Here, too, nothing indicates that the GDR leadership could be prepared to modify its image of the enemy characterized by hatred which the East Berlin journal ARMEERUNDSCHAU described in the following formula: "Hatred for the imperialist enemy. How could it be ugly and repulsive if it was born out of love for our socialist fatherland, for peace and the justice of our fight? Hatred has a relieving effect, hatred creates justice, hatred ennobles you."

CSO: 2300/241

DETAILS ON NATIONAL PEACE MOVEMENT

'Dialogue for Peace' Movement

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 13 Apr 83 p 13

[Article by correspondent Italo Fugeri]

[Text] Budapest-- Last 24 November they had their baptism of fire--and it is certainly correct to call it so--with a meeting that lasted uninterruptedly for 6 hours, with around 400 persons present, and which took place in the most official office of the most official National Peace Council in Budapest. There were very many questions (who are you?) and answers; there were very many accusations, some grave (are you in the opposition?) but there were just as many answers without hesitation. Above all, there were two authoritative representatives of western peace movements, the Dutchwoman Mient Jean Faber and the Englishwoman Mary Kaldor. After the first Budapest meeting similar efforts took place, all in government offices, in the cities of Pecs, Szeged, Debrecen, Nyireghaza. Still others should be taking place around this time.

The new movement, "Dialogue for Peace," arising through the initiative of a group of Budapest students and intellectuals of the faculty of arts, thus it seems that it was able to grow and assert itself on the outside, but not against officialdom. Perhaps "Dialogue" is today the most extensive, spontaneous group in Hungary. Over all, its supporters number around 300. One might call that a small number, compared with the 11 million inhabitants of the country. But if one recalls that the movement has no structure whatsoever, no means for contact nor does it enjoy organizational support. On the contrary, it is barely tolerated: it meets with hostility and difficulties of every kind, it is regarded with suspicion and mistrust. It is also for these reasons that the young people that inspire [animare] it wish very much to make it clear what they feel within the system and society; they do not want to be against it; however, they intend to carry forward their discussion autonomously, and independent of officialdom. And, although there are different views, all wish to avoid any occasion that in any way might label them as dissidents. In any event, many are aware of the potential danger of being, despite themselves, forced to assume the role of dissidents. In fact, contrary to what one might be led to believe, here room for initiatives and autonomous and independent political action is extremely limited.

These few months of life of "Dialogue," full of incredible and grotesque episodes for which in certain cases, the officialdom has rendered itself responsible (initial approvals, but permissions withheld for marches and meetings; indeed, for an office, without, however, ever finding one, and so forth) make one believe in any event that here, although with compromises and many difficulties, it may be possible to conceive of an autonomous and independent experiment. We are writing so cautiously because we are well aware that it would be very easy to wipe out that which has been achieved until now. The promoters of "Dialogue" are also, naturally, fully aware of this. They endeavor thus to be as realist as possible and while defending their autonomy and independence, are in close contact with the National Peace Council and hence with the officialdom. How far the initiative will be able to develop will depend on the authority's degree of tolerance.

Thus far, "Dialogue" exists. In Budapest its approximately 200 supporters are divided into 5 groups. They even have provided themselves a kind of coordinating body which meets once a week and which seeks to maintain contact with the groups in other cities, where, although in more reduced and sporadic form, similar meetings take place. In Budapest even 3 issues of a typed leaflet have come out. Moreover badges have appeared which symbolize the movement's wish for dialogue and for peace.

Given the objective situation the work schedule is extremely ambitious: a 3-day national meeting for the middle of this month and an international peace camp in the summer.

The movement's structures and platform should be the key points of the next meeting. On the other hand, with the summer camp, "Dialogue" would like to appear on the international scene. It is difficult to say what successes they will have and above all it is still more difficult to be sure that these initiatives will take place. Even if not optimistic, the promoters appear in any event to be moderately confident.

East-West dialogue, dialogue with the Hungarian society, widens the awareness of the dangers of war. These are the objectives of the new groups. "We shall have to be more explicit and express them better," the founders say. "We shall do so at the meeting in the next few days. However we are lacking in experience. Neither do the few contacts we had with the pacifist movements in Brussels, nor those we shall have in London, suffice for us. We are barely at the beginning. Aside from the program, which, after all, will not be so difficult to set forth, it is more important to provide ourselves with a structure. Today we do not know whether or how we shall succeed in this, partly because our range is extremely limited. We shall see. For the moment we should grow, become larger. The terrain seems favorable."

Aside from "Dialogue" which is the most solid, although the most recent, there are two other spontaneous groups in Hungary which are committed to the problems of peace. There is "Grassroots Community" heading up a certain Catholic element that is in dispute and dissent with the authorities of the Catholic Church. And there is "Anti-nuclear Campaign" but it does not seem to be a very independent group since it appears to have "roots in officialdom," nor is it very large.

Disarmament; Role of Church

Rome L'UNITA in Italian 13 Apr 83 p 13

[Article By Paolo Soldini]

[Text] It is the very breadth of the debate which has put it on a collision course with the state.

On the question of disarmament, how to achieve it, what is the view of the Evangelical Church? Does it or does it not see a place for its own initiative?

"Look, by the very fact of being so, Christians cannot be without faith; everyone knows that there is no alternative to disarmament and reduction of tensions. What is the official position? It is extremely simple: we are for a bilateral and gradual disarmament, above all, of nuclear weapons. We completely agree, for example, on the proposal by our government for an advanced nuclear free zone. In this, you see, there is no difference with the position of the state authorities. If anything, there is a different problem. We say we are not a "pacifist church" but a "church that is working for peace," yet, how is one to do that concretely? There have been and there are misunderstandings between ourselves and the state, and we feel we ought to make certain criticisms. But there is another problem: each time we speak, or each time we defend--as it is right to do--young people who are arrested, although not sharing their views, there is always someone in the West ready to take advantage of it and to see political implications. Let it be clear: we do not wish an opposition movement to be formed under the cover of the Church.

9772  
CSO: 3528/122

FAMILY-CHILD RELATIONSHIP IN SOCIETY EXAMINED

Budapest KOZNEVELES in Hungarian 25 Mar 83 pp 3-5

[Article by Bela Buda: "Role of the Family in the Shaping of Personality"]

[Text] As shown in earlier articles in this series, there are many early conditions for personality development. Such conditions are body contact with the infant and emotion-filled communication in a loving atmosphere. These conditions can be, theoretically, provided by anyone attending the baby. In practice, however, the parents and family are the ones who usually provide and are able to provide it. But the careful nurturing of a small child requires much tedious effort and sacrifice. A very good motivational force is needed to bring up a child. To be filled with motivation, a conscious wish for the child and an imprinting fo the first hours and days of relationship with the child are needed which fixes the maternal behavior and reinforces the desire to spend time with the child. Without this, very few people can be sufficiently motivated to provide the child with the emotional needs of care.

Increasing Problems

Even the parents often get tired of raising a child, of its "round-the-clock service" although they love their children very much and no doubt they would be willing to make great sacrifices for them. Modern man especially finds it difficult to accept the many sacrifices demanded by a small child. Especially the women, the majority of whom are engaged in some profession. Little by little the majority of university graduates are also women. It would be very important to them to be able to work professionally while young, to remain competitive with men.

Most women suffer a professional setback by childbirth even if they return to work soon. But neither can the men maintain the same achievement in their work if they have a small child. At any rate, they must sacrifice part of their recreation and hobbies. For women, the possibilities for entertainment and recreation usually disappear for a time. This is a great emotional burden, a tension on the young family and makes a married relationship more difficult. Neither is the sexual life of the young parents the same any longer--this had been generally disturbed by the pregnancy and postpartum period--but it is also made more difficult by the tasks of taking care of a small child. Matters outside of taking care of the child will also intrude on the communication of

the couple, thus the parents often become somewhat distant from each other. These have an influence on the nurturing of the child.

Occasionally, the acceptance of motherhood occurs under not sufficiently mature conditions. In such cases, the mother often does not have enough patience and emotional incentive to nurture the child. This is especially true if accompanied by increasing problems in the marriage. Should the child become ill, or by chance become hospitalized, the emotional relationship can be weakened even more. At such times, the little one can also react with various symptoms--and it is very difficult to separate the role of such early periods from later influences--but very often it can be adjudged probable that the pathological personality development of the child has started during this period.

But the relative emotional poverty of the parental relationship can be quite sufficient explanation because it causes anxiety in the child which forces him to continually worry about the important relationship, to overinsure himself with love. In such cases, learning impairment will also delay development because the curiosity of and readiness for independent action by the child are lowered by the anxiety.

In general, several factors must be in effect jointly in order for the small child to be harmed by family shortcomings in basic emotional upbringing during early childhood. On a psychological plane, illness can be such factor because it regressively increases the need of the child for care and love. It is also beneficial if the mother can remain relatively alone during this period. But mostly there is no grandmother or self-sacrificing relative nearby and a direct, loving relationship with the child does not always develop in the fathers. (during the last decade and a half, the professionals are becoming alerted globally to the increasing emotional bonding of fathers to small children. Many of them treat the children in a "motherly" fashion. Luckily, this trend can also be observed in Hungary.)

If the fathers can behave in a "motherly" fashion, the first phase of the child's development is almost insured against the emotional damage mentioned because the combined emotional care of both parents, supplementing the other. Of course, a healthy relationship with grandparents, relatives and even with neighbors also contributes to the psychological health of the family. If the family functions as a healthy psychological system, then members of the system substitute for each other during the difficult periods of child raising and there is always someone to compensate for the weakness or difficulties of a family member.

#### Suppressed Emotions

Too much burden, being left alone with child-raising problems, will often further weaken the personality of the mother. It raises guilt feelings, a wish to be away; at such times, a desire for her own profession is more intensive, she wishes to have more free time, etc. The increasing guilt feeling will further disturb her relationship toward the child, the emotional relationship can become contradictory. In the jargon of psychologists, they refer to ambivalence in such cases. This means that the love is mixed with

many contradictory feelings--anger, dislike, reluctance, etc. These are suppressed by the mother who tries not to notice them in herself. Thus, this mass of emotions erupts in some symptom. A typical symptom is pathological fear in the mother: she may harm the child (she may accidentally lie down on the child at night, improperly prepare the baby food, drop the child while bathing, etc.). Symptoms of anxiety neurosis develop in such cases. The mother does not dare to sleep soundly, will repeatedly check her routine movements, etc. Such cases often also require medical or psychological intervention.

Since the introduction of the child-care allowance, such a neurotic condition is very frequent, especially among mothers with higher education. In general, it turns out that the husband, occasionally both grandparents and the family almost force the mother to stay at home. They cite the interests of the child and the mother herself accepts the logic of the arguments: a small child raised at home will indeed be ill less often, will develop in a more balanced fashion. Relatives of the husband are of the opinion that the mother gets everything, she can be happy to be with the child. But the mother feels completely torn from associates, separated from her profession, her intellectual demands left unsatisfied. It is the task of the physician or psychologist, in such cases, to stand by the mother, to revive the disrupted communication within the family and to urge the family toward a possible compromise. The solution usually is to have the mother return to work, have part of her burdens be assumed by the family and part of them by institutions (nurseries, kindergartens) or to hire some help.

Among the problems to be solved, in general, there is some disturbance in the mutual relationship of the couple, for instance, some deterioration or cooling in their sexual life.

It has already been raised by specialists working in every branch of mental health care that couples should receive preparation for family life, especially for the initial phases of raising the first-born child. The father should be prepared for fatherly behavior, and an emotional and practical "sharing of the loads." The mother should be encouraged toward emotional independence and the undiminished acceptance of the female role.

In practice, the family disturbances around child raising can have manifold symptoms. The relative emotional distance, or even the emotional hostility toward the child is almost always accompanied by excessive protectiveness and spoiling. It is very difficult to maintain the correct balance in child rearing. In spite of many handbooks and good advice from specialists, it is difficult to maintain adequate flexibility. For instance, it is also difficult to bear the suffering of a small child "rebelling" against feeding times or crying out in the night which, however, must be endured for a while in the interest of making him accustomed to the routine. Much depends on this because the child must learn accommodation during early childhood. But, at the same time, he must also experience that consolation is there, he is being entertained, his crying and manifestations have consequences. In the life of small ones already sitting up, crawling and toddling, protectiveness and the permission of free experimentation should also prevail as a peculiar dialectic!

quite frequently, maternal guilt feeling is precipitated in keeping the small child away from the possibility of even the smallest danger, and the child, in turn, cannot handle objects well enough, does not know his way around. One type of overprotection is to keep the child away from peers although, even for very young children, it is a necessity to be together also with other children. In fortunate cases, this need is satisfied by the child community in nurseries and later in kindergartens.

### Learning

Teaching speech and early teaching of the child are very important. This takes place unnoticed but it is one important area where the family is able to determine the further fate of the child. It depends on the patience, loving care and attention of the teacher, of the adult serving as a model, whether the child learns to speak distinctly and clearly, he becomes acquainted with many concepts and uses them appropriately. Well known are the studies of Basil Bernstein according to which the social standing of the family determines the use of concepts and mode of expression of the school-age child thereby creating favorable or unfavorable conditions toward learning and adaptation in school. Even if the situation is not quite as simple as in the Bernstein model, individual families do teach to a greater or lesser extent the optimal use of language, thereby having a reasonable influence on school achievement and on the later fate of the child. The early teaching of language and engagement of the child in activities is, similarly, one of the bases for his later "talents." These are not quite realized by people. But they are inclined to blame inheritance or structure for conditions arising later. Later, talent is qualified as a congenital matter just as are unfavorable characteristics. Although--as far as studies can bring light to this--there are hardly any essentially inborn factors; the abilities and achievements of personality develop in response to environmental, mostly family influences during the first years of life.

The effect of parents as models takes place unnoticed and this is one of the strongest socializing forces. This determines most of the development of the child. The physical presence of the parents and an emotional relationship with them are, of course, needed to adopt the parental models. According to our current knowledge, the adoption of and learning the behavior model of the adult is a characteristic psychological process of biological origin. This is also manifested in higher ranking animals and, therefore, they are also not able to adopt healthy behavior models characteristic of the species if they are separated from the others, if there is no model from which to learn the modes of behavior in various life situations. In man, there is even less biologically preprogrammed behavior readiness; he has to learn even more.

Following the behavior model of adults is described by specialists in terms of various theories. There is a theory according to which imitation is an instinctive ability in the higher ranked species and this is manifested in the sensitivity to model influences. Others, for instance, the U.S. psychologist Albert Bandura, propose a learning mechanism based on model following and suggest that the children learn from the model not only the pattern of

behavior but also the inducement toward it. Even more complex is the psychoanalytic identification theory according to which the most important factor is identification on an emotional level with the other person. In the course of this process, the identifying personality quasi-incorporates the emotional and motivational state associated with the given mode of behavior and, simultaneously, also fixes the behavior model.

This psychoanalytic concept deserves careful attention because it grasps a circumstance whose importance we can also observe in daily life and which, at the same time, cannot be well explained in terms of simple imitation. It involves the fact that the observed behavior model is, in general, first practiced through the fantasy of the children who, subsequently, transfer it into observable plays and, after that, try it out in those social situations which require the given mode of behavior. The role of fantasy indicates that separate processing and reinforcing mechanisms are in action in the personality of the child and, in response to these, the effect of the model on behavior is incorporated in a complex manner. Imitation or the learning to follow the model are too simple explanations although these simple phenomena can also be observed. The small child just learning to walk or speak also tries to imitate everything because of his curiosity and, if he cannot perform something, he appreciates it if the motions are shown to him and tries to follow the model. More is involved in identification when, in general, the complex elements of social behavior are learned by the personality, so-called social roles. Such learning proceeds less obviously than learning by imitation or model following. Only in the rarest instances do the parents or other adults realize that they serve as models to the child with whom they are together, that he is now in the process of social learning. They do not realize it also because the process is long and, in general, it takes years for the child to absorb--through impressions in the most varied social situations--the behavioral samples associated with unique social demands and requirements.

At the same time, the parents being the chief models, the behavior of the child is strongly determined, by the family. This manifests itself in nonspecific matters, for instance, in the basic schemes of relationship to adults and other children, frustration tolerance, adaptability, in the modes and measures of solving conflicts or problems, but also in psychosexual development, in the adoption of sexual roles. The basic model of sexual role is provided at the child by the parent of the same sex but this also requires an appropriate manifestation of sexual role behavior in the relationship of the parents.

#### New Burdens

Often, the parents provide insufficient models for the child and thereby delay or disturb the emotional or psychosexual maturing of the little one. If the family is too closed, is the parents and children interrelate only with each other, the inadequacy of the modeling effect becomes more probable. Namely, the children note the similarities of parental models and, through identification, they receive it from other adults and even other children. Thus, the inadequacies of parental model can be compensated for to a certain extent.

On the other hand, the family medium in the differentiation of behavior schemes learned by the child can hardly be replaced. This means that the parents react to the behavior of the child: they reward or punish it. Within this process, child behavior is reinforced and differentiated and, therefore, this reward-punishment attitude has great significance. This also takes place mostly unconsciously and the parents don't even notice that, during every minute spent with the child, they educate, inhibit or develop something, they guide the development of the child. Usually, they form the child to their own image although, precisely under the modern family and institutional circumstances, it frequently happens that the family also has to fight certain behavioral elements, models of inducement and of action brought from the outside.

Every phase of the growth of the child places new burdens on the family. In every phase, the household relationship must be enduring and, in every period, various outside difficulties also arise. It is important how many children are in the family, what material and cultural level it lives on, etc. Therefore, only the principal dimensions can be mentioned by which the essence of the many types of disturbances and pathological events occurring in the family can be understood which are detrimental to the child.

In a paradoxical manner, the more conscious the upbringing and the more close the parent-child relationship, the more frequent are certain types of disturbances.

In general, prolonger separation from the parents, absence, the practical, functional deficiency of the parents are damaging. It is common knowledge that even the most careful institutional upbringing cannot substitute for the family and, therefore, is detrimental from the aspect of social adaptation. Many youths with psychopathological features and personalities lacking emotion are living in institutional boarding homes. Many personality disturbances of children are based on the total or prolonged absence of one of the parents. At times societal changes and wars are the cause of prolonged absence of the fathers from their children. Interestingly, in such cases, there is less damage to the personality because human relations become more closely joined at such times, relatives and the community are more ready to help, and compensate more from a psychosocial aspect as well.

#### The Effect of Divorce

Most problems originate from divorce. The children nearly always suffer from divorce. Its effects differ depending on the age of the child. The effect usually is not due to the divorce alone--that is, separation of the parents and the gradual distancing of one of them--but also the preceding critical, conflict-ridden period. Often divorce is the beginning of straightening out, from that time on it is possible to repair somehow the damages. Therefore, it is a faulty approach if someone blames the divorce alone, fights against it, possibly by voicing precisely the interest of the children. Divorce itself is merely a surface, a partial phenomenon, what projects above the water from the iceberg of the marital disturbance. The problem is the decomposition of marriages, of families.

Divorce is often preceded by a rather prolonger period of loud arguments, emotional and impulsive tempests. At such times, the controversy claims the energies of the parents and they cannot provide emotional nurturing to the small child. In general, the mothers suffer more and, therefore, through the great emotional burden on the mother, the emotional development of a small child is almost always damaged by divorce. Even at this time, conflict arises in the relationships and the small child also feels that he no longer can bond himself equally to both parents.

With older children, this conflict is even more pronounced and, in the most cases, one parent indeed attempts to turn the child against the other. The controversies always involve placement of the child as one of the principal topics and, regrettably, its viewpoints are often guided by material considerations. The child is essentially a tool in the controversy between the parents. Genuine psychological traumas can be suffered in the course of bratins and rough arguments carried out in the presence of the child. The child's personality, in general, develops neurotic symptoms, slows its development, lands in regression and is tortured by guilt feelings.

From kindergarten-age on, the children feel responsible for the divorce, they attribute to their own bad behavior the arguments of the parents or else, later, they have guilt feelings for they still want to bond to the parent to whom they are not allowed to because, in the dismembered family, he is the one declared at fault, a scoundrel. These damages appear later, during adolescence, the phase of identity development. Usually, the first equal human relationships--friendships, pair-relationships--become problematic and difficult.

Families living well together can also have many harmful traits. One parent subordinates himself to the other, the other behaves despotically, certain problems must not be discussed, while in other respects the family produces lots of myths which overvalue, enlarge the traits of the family. In general, in pathological family units, the borders toward the outside world--other families, other human relationships--are closed. The too close parent-child relationship is the means by which the family can bind the child. This represents such emotional security that the child does not willingly leave it although this security is becoming gradually more disadvantageous to him because he finds it increasingly difficult to exist independently in the peer group.

The pathological aspects of family communication in general delay personality development and make ego and identity development especially difficult. The behavioral disturbances and deviant behaviors appearing in adolescence are generally derived from family troubles. An entire clinical psychological trend has evolved to study and treat this phenomenon: family therapy.

2473  
CSO: 2500/192

JUSTICE MINISTER ON PEOPLE'S COUNCIL DRAFT LAW

Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 2 Mar 83 pp 1, 3

/Interview with Prof Sylvester Zawaczki by Krystyna Chrupkowa: "Future of Local Control Over Format of Statute on National Councils and Territorial Self-Rule"; date and location not disclosed/

/Text/ Chrupkowa: During the course of work on a format for the statute on national councils and territorial self-rule, two public debates have already taken place. The last began in April of last year with an announcement of the full text of the format in RZECZPOSPOLITA and ended following several months of furious polemics with a summation--likewise in the columns of our newspaper--of the entire accomplishments of the debate. More than half a year has elapsed since that time. Consequently, it is time to inquire about the further destiny of the statute.

Our interlocutor is Prof Sylvester Zawaczki, minister of justice, chairman of the legislative council, and above all, an expert on problems of national councils. He devoted much of his work to this subject and also, 20 years ago, initiated empirical studies on the functioning of the system of councils. They have continued to the present day by the institute of state and law /PAN/, and their findings systematically appear in the publication "Problems of National Councils." We add that to date 53 volumes of this publication, unique on a world wide scale, have appeared.

There is much to indicate that work on the format of the statute on national councils and territorial autonomy found itself in an impasse. Why?

Zawaczki: Work on the format actually takes a long time. Mainly with respect to the extensive and complicated problems, as well as for the reason that the proposed solutions incite basic controversies. Obviously the legislative process could be accelerated, but in the meantime the objection would be raised that quality is being sacrificed for speed. And so, this already classical argument could continue ad infinitum as to whether the statute is being prepared to excess and too rapidly to the detriment of quality, or also on the contrary, too slowly to the detriment of social needs.

However, returning to the essence of the matter: the last meeting of the general commission (invoked by the Sejm) reveals that a successful conclusion can be expected, although the format certainly requires additional serious work yet.

Chrupkowa: However, that does not answer the question raised. In my opinion, the beginning of work itself prophesied subsequent troubles. Finally, the fact speaks for itself that this format really had up to seven different versions.

Zawadzki: I am familiar with examples of legal acts that had considerably more versions. Such was the case for example, with the format for amending the administrative procedure and appointment of the supreme administrative court. As chairman of the Sejm subcommittee, I can state that the 14th variant was barely accepted by the Sejm. Today on the third anniversary of the passage of that statute, it is known that it passed the test and therefore, it is also known that the prolonged work did not affect it adversely. Hence, it is of no use to count variants. Instead, everything should be done to attain passage of the best version.

Chrupkowa: Certainly 14 drafts are more than 7 but yet this explains nothing, instead it provokes questions: Does not such a multitude of variants signify by chance, lack of a uniform view on the subject of a system for administering the matters of territorial units? This would clarify somehow previous history of the extent of work on the draft.

Zawadzki: The variety of concepts is inevitable, especially today when solutions are being sought as a safeguard against distortions. In this specific instance, it found its expression, if even in the titles of the planned statute proposed by various authors: "On National Councils"; "On the Bodies of Authority and Regional Administration"; "On Territorial Autonomy"; "On National Councils And Self-rule of the Residents," as well as, according to the last version now under discussion, "On National Councils and Territorial Autonomy".

Chrupkowa: The titles are of no consequence, however, what is hidden behind them is important, what problems do these differences refer to, what is their basis?

Zawadzki: Speaking most generally, these differences concern the relationship of self-rule to: the tradition of territorial self-rule in a bourgeois state and the model of national councils; the state in a socialist society; the principle of democratic centralism.

Without delving into the ideological background of those constructions (this is subject matter for a separate and much broader discussion), however, it must be stated: in their principles lies the relationship to commitments of a local nature. The exponents of the traditional bourgeois concept of territorial self-rule regard local commitments as absolute, whereas advocates of centralistic techniques minimize them. As is well known, the underrating of those obligations for years at a time led to an overly centralized system

of supervising. The reaction to this bureaucratic centralism was a conceptual return to traditional territorial autonomy, with the idea incidental to that of restoring dualism in the form of division in administration--state and municipal. Dualism of this type existed during the interwar period and likewise in modified form during the years 1944-1950. A return to that model would be a mistake at this time.

Chrupkowa: But why?

Zawadzki: First, because the advocates of the territorial self-government concept in its former version do not resolve the historical fact that the scope of local duties assigned to territorial self-rule was unusually narrow, which did not in the least lead to the rise of self-government. It is necessary to determine here that from the time of the formation of the 19th century concept of territorial self-rule, the realities of social life underwent basic changes. A tremendous development in the social and technological infrastructure of cities and communities; the social and educational policies of the state sprang up and were developed. This confronts local authorities with commitments that no self-government can handle independently. Among other things, these commitments must be financed by the national budget. For this reason, no territorial self-government in any developed bourgeois country presently exercises absolute self-determination nor independence of the state.

Secondly, if bodies representing territorial self-government which the national councils were supposed to be, according to some but according to others independent of them, or also representing their denial--the municipal or communal councils--they would be exclusively bodies of territorial self-government confining themselves to the sphere of local issues; then issues requiring guidance from the central level would have to be resolved by some other type of bodies. In the terminology of traditional self-government--governmental administrative bodies. Under circumstances such as ours, they would certainly be the voivode and the supervisor but independently of councils and subject only to superior administrative bodies. Because, after all, the national and self-governmental structure of authority, as well as the sphere of activity, in keeping with the concept of traditional self-rule are mutually exclusive. From the point of view of a democracy, this would be a step backward in comparison with the system of councils which renders the voivode and supervisor likewise subordinate to the councils as their executive body, controlled by the councils in the entire sphere of activities and responsible to them.

Thirdly, these same authors do not answer the following question: If two separate spheres of administration are to exist, state and self-governmental, then who will coordinate their activities? In the present phase of national development--considering the present magnitude of the national economy, social policy, in the multilateral development of regions--the problem of a complex approach to problems of the national economy took on a considerably greater significance. It is an understandable matter that under conditions of customary dualism, the only coordinator could be the regional administrative

body, and this would forejudge its actual superior authority over self-government bodies.

Summing up: the concept of a return to territorial self-government in its interwar version and also in the version from the first postwar period would represent a step backward in relation to the concept of national councils.

Chrupkowa: Does this not mean by chance the acceptance of the present model of national councils? And if not--then what kind of future at length awaits local authority?

Zawadzki: There is no talk of an indiscriminate acceptance of the concept of national councils associated with the principle of bureaucratic centralism. I stated and continue to state that the model of national councils to which we should turn in the statute contemplated, should distinguish itself by intensifying its self-rule by:

Revising the decentralized sphere in the framework of the system of national councils in which commitments of a local nature dominate; in this sphere the councils should have legal independence. In the binding and assuring frameworks, a vital uniformity of regulations; the supervision of central echelon bodies should be restricted in this sphere exclusively to control of the legality (that is, conformity with the law and not expediency) of their endeavors.

Consolidation of the councils' financial base through expansion of their income; assurance of independence in the disposition of funds and in particular, full independence in the disposition of budgetary increases.

Consolidation of superiority of the national councils' authority over executive managing bodies in directing regional affairs as a whole with special attention to the decentralized sphere, so as to guarantee a more than hitherto comprehensive union of local and generally national commitments.

The format of the statute stands precisely on the grounds of this concept, although in some solutions, greater consistency is necessary. The socio-economic council of the Polish Peoples' Republic Sejm pointed this out by proposing corrections to some resolutions. Similar efforts at improvement can be expected likewise on the part of the general Sejm board, especially when it concerns consolidation of the area of the decentralized sphere comprising duties of a local nature.

A confinement of the supervision of central echelon bodies in the decentralized sphere to legal supervision exclusively would likewise be related to this; in this manner the prospects for unrestricted interference of central in local affairs and the constant "undulation of centralism and decentralization" would be curbed.

In generalizing the previous considerations, I would like to recall a statement by M. Jaroszynski, an eminent theoretician and experienced practitioner of prewar and postwar years: "The point therefore, is that enroute to establishing

independent councils, one more step should be taken--a decisive one, to be sure, from the aggregate of laws belonging to the province of councils, to carve out a certain area according to the law, excluding interference from higher administrative bodies and the national council and to equip the councils with legal sources serving the defense." This eminent expert in administrative law, in proposing the use of that, which from the institution of territorial self-government can be used by socialism, also opposed the repudiation of the system of national councils.

Chrupkowa: You will certainly concur with the statement that local democracy, in creating the opportunity for mass participation in governing, is a vital portion of the structure of authority in the state and that regional authority so-called, also exerts influence on the pinnacle of authority itself.

Zawadzki: Obviously, such also was the substance of studies introduced by myself, although some scholars felt that I unnecessarily occupy myself with "tenth-rate" matters. The debate presently in progress indicates how consequential the problem is, especially from the point of view of socialist democracy in which the Sejm, as general national representative, should play a considerably greater role.

Chrupkowa: Mutual alliances of this type between the Sejm and national councils, however, require a certain equilibrium of representative bodies which unfortunately I do not see. For, the extent to which very many favorable changes have taken place in the Sejm, compels us at the bottom to deal in the same proportion rather with the phenomenon of "stagnant water." Therefore, I fear that the statute on national councils of itself will not suffice to change the state of affairs.

Zawadzki: Until recently, the opportunity for changes in the structural position on the Sejm was negated, with the argument that the socialist system in the opinion of some, is incapable of reform. Today, anyone who attempts to gain an objective appraisal must admit that the Sejm, to a great degree, approached the accomplishment of its constitutional role and it implements its functions quite effectively: legislative and control.

It is considerably more difficult, for many reasons after all, to attain such rapid changes in the system of regional bodies. However, I would not concur with the view that we have to contend with the phenomenon of "stagnant water." This is contradicted by the ever richer and multilateral subject matter in deliberations of the national council sessions; the authenticity of debates; the growing amount of council interpellations; a far greater resoluteness of council committees in the execution of postcontrol motions, an independent and frequently critical position of council members towards many drafts of resolutions prepared by regional administrative bodies (especially concerning plan and budget). At the very most, it can be thus stated: this is an unsatisfactory effort to motivate broader social initiative and hasten the process of eliminating the crisis. And it is unsatisfactorily known to the general public, because information concerning endeavors of the councils is practically continually absent in our media.

However, I agree with the view that the statute alone will not suffice to guarantee the proper exercise of authority by all bodies. I feel that its acceptance should precede broad public action geared to developing regional initiative, and following its passage--vigorous efforts geared to its consistent initiation into life by the creation chiefly of evermore advantageous conditions for the appearance of local self-rule.

9951  
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DEPUTY CIVIL DEFENSE CHIEF DISCUSSES 1982 SITUATION, 1983 PLANS

Warsaw PRZEGLAD OBRONY CYWILNEJ in Polish No 2, Feb 83 pp 1-4

/Article: "National Civil Defense at the Turning-Point of 1982 and 1983"/

/Text/ Brig Gen Jozef Cwetsch, chief of the National Civil Defense Inspectorate and deputy chief of National Civil Defense

It is not possible to examine the problems of civil defense - or even to efficiently implement its tasks - without first regarding both the internal situation of the country and the international situation as well. This close interdependence had already let itself be known in 1982. It was a special year in the life of our nation. We were tormented by economic and social problems and were seeking intensively to overcome the crisis. Our internal problems became a mirror of the hostile campaigns, undertaken and directed against Poland and the entire socialist community by the West and, in the first place, by the United States, to weaken their unity and, consequently, to destroy the strength of our existing alliance. This took place in an atmosphere made tense by the military hysteria of the capitalist world, which wanted to substantiate the arms race, the immense growth of expenditures for military purposes and other initiatives which clearly showed the aggressive nature of the West's policy. This is a departure from the idea of detente and spares no effort as it goes forward, including the application of economic pressure against Poland. It was also an exceptional and unexperienced period for civil defense. For the first time in its 35-year history, Poland's civil defense functioned under conditions of martial law. The fundamental question is then asked: How did the changed conditions affect the execution of its tasks? Did its numerous local cells, organizational and technical systems and formations in various regions of the country manage to resist the general wave of destabilization engulfing Poland both before and after the introduction of martial law? Did they maintain their organizational solidarity and readiness to do what had to be done?

The unequivocal answer to these question is affirmative and is authorized by an analysis of the activities of the civil defense cells during this period and the current situation of armed preparations, which are the result of these activities.

For civil defense, the most important issue in 1982, in association with the difficult national situation, was the maintenance of the achieved level of organization, training, and technology and the adaptation of its operations to

any structural changes occurring in the administration of the national economy. Today, from the perspective of time, it is clear that not only were the tasks executed, but even more was done which raised the capability of being able to do more in more areas of civil defense. Although in this period the civil defense agencies and energies, while supporting the efforts of the Military Council of National Salvation, moyed to master the crisis which had sprung up in Poland and which was constantly worsening, they were able to implement a number of other tasks, which resulted from the requirements of martial law.

By terms of the decisions, numbers 15 and 16 of the Chief of National Civil Defense from 13 December 1981, the reserve services of the local inspectorates were called to duty and a portion of the Civil Defense formations were appointed to complement active duty units in the civil defense. This duty fell to first aid units, to fire-fighting, medical-sanitary, law and order and technical lifesaving services. Orderly positions were filled, measures against chaos were taken, order maintained and the sites of local economic importance were protected. Almost the entire technical cadre of the local inspectorates and a considerable part of the membership of the National Civil Defense Inspectorate were sent, on the other hand, to several months of work with groups, operating in the cities and countryside, or were designated as commissioner-plenipotentiaries of the National Defense Committee in offices of state administration or factories.

Beyond this, extremely intensive preventive and rescue activities took place, in which the civil defense participated last year, when a number of regions in the country, especially in the provinces of Plock and Konin, had a run of bad luck. Already in the first threatening moments of a flood, civil defense services moved to eliminate obstacles, reinforce dams, check bridges and - if necessary - render assistance to victims. Local civil defense units were watching, organizing and supporting their efforts in the course of the activities performed by local and plant formations.

Current organizational and training efforts were not neglected during these various tasks. While certain activities - drills for wider ranges of activity - were arranged for later times because of a shortage of monies, plans were made in the provinces, cities and rural areas to organize exercises and check regularly the state of civil defense readiness. It is worth noting here the efforts put into the organization of exercises in the provinces of Bialystok, Bialskopadlaska, Kielce, Nowosad, Olsztyn, Sieradz and Skiermiew.

In last year's training exercises, plans to participate in the interallied exercise, "Defense 82", were the focus of attention. Its aim was the improvement of the joint action of civil defense cells and forces of the neighboring allied states. This exercise simulated joint rescue operations in the border areas during a period of threat or war. The managing agencies and the Civil Defense forces of the provinces of Gorzow and Jelena Gora carefully prepared to participate in the exercise and demonstrated proper organizational competence and practical skill. The entire exercise proved that there were real opportunities for the proper coordination of different activities for the civil defense forces and resources of neighboring countries to work together and that mutual assistance could be effective.

Other fields of civil defense activity were far from being inactive. A universal warning system and a system for discovering contamination were improved, to such a degree as conditions would allow, while protection centers were modernized. Scientific-research activity continued which sought to improve the means of individual and collective protection against contamination. Efforts were made to amend the laws normalizing the organization and operations of civil defense units under changing conditions. The special significance and scope of the tasks completed by the cadre and civilian workers and by an enormous multitude of people were not small. The conditions of their implementation were also untypical. New problems appeared demanding the adoption of urgent but simultaneously applicable decisions and intense activity. The civil defense, formed through the extensive participation of the people, is directed by a state administration at various levels and utilizes resources from the national economy. It also had to struggle with the same weaknesses as the people and economy. It had to overcome many difficulties in the sphere of organization, equipment, supply, training and other fields. For these reasons, its achievements during the period are as much most valuable as was the year 1982; great thanks are offered for the enormous involvement, conscientiousness and responsibility to all who took part in the preparations of civil defense.

The present year demands strenuous efforts from us. The year is decisive for civil defense in a certain sense; it is a period of considerable structural and operational changes and intensive qualitative improvement. A number of new and amended laws will be the basis for these changes. These laws will regulate civil defense activity in compliance with changes taking place in the state administration and the economic reform, which is being nationally implemented. Planned moves in normative and legal documents, ready for publication, create extensive opportunities for expanding efforts in all fields of civil defense preparations. The authorities, which direct, are expanding as are the coordinating administrations of the local agencies - the chiefs of civil defense of the provinces, cities, districts, rural centers and cities and rural centers - in the face of all institutions, state enterprises, social and collective organizations, which operate in the areas administered by them. The duties of local civil defense chiefs are being specified; they will assume a portion of the tasks, which, up until now, belonged to the ministries and those ministerial agencies under their control. Existing principles for establishing civil defense formations and their tasks are being modified. The planning of civil defense undertakings, the attainment of readiness by agencies and formations and their supply are now being simplified and legally strengthened. The principles for constructing protection centers and for dispersing and evacuating people are also being amended.

The competent and consequential embodiment of new laws which regulate the organization and operations of the Polish Peoples' Republic's civil defense will be a priority for the next few years and simultaneously, it will be a difficult task for 1983. A lot of attention needs to be focused on raising the quality of training, especially of people, and on searching for and applying new forms of guaranteeing interest and attendance. New programs, emphasizing, above all, the practical side of training and adapting locally to environmental

needs, should serve this goal. The solution to this important problem may be found by securing a high merit and ideological level of studies, conducted with the younger generation and through the closed contacts between local inspectorates and schools and other learning institutions.

The effectiveness of all these steps, which are aimed at protecting people, depends to a great degree on the efficiency of the civil defense organizational and technical systems. From this point of view, we have to attach great weight to the further consequential development and modernization of public general warning and alarm systems, cutting the time for information to circulate and finding new ways to improve the detection of contamination. Further progress in this, and also in many other civil defense undertakings, should be facilitated for us by the scientific-research efforts of our national scientific centers; these efforts should be closely integrated with the research efforts being conducted in the other civil defense organizations of the states of the socialist community.

Today is not the first day that a number of provincial civil defense inspectorates are trying to settle with their difficulties, the cause of which are the inappropriate conditions of storage and maintenance for civil defense equipment. Although such a thing is not easy today, it is necessary to more consequently undertake attempts at correcting this current situation without investment, and to utilize all opportunities, perhaps even those not yet observed. All the more so, especially since there is no shortage of examples where the persistent search for new solutions has been crowned with positive results in certain provinces.

In our diversified activity, which penetrates every segment of our national life, the concern about the formation and consolidation of our attitudes, proper from the public's point of view, the authentic involvement and high idealism of the cadre and hundreds of thousands of civil defense member formations, the work of which is the cohesion and efficiency of our national defense, has to dominate. The strength of the active, which understands the sense of a country's defense, is devoted to national matters and is generous in fulfilling its duties with dignity, is the most effective defense in the struggle with internal weaknesses and the external threat. It is our measurable contribution to the general consolidation of the efforts undertaken for the social good and in the properly-comprehended interest of the people and the socialist fatherland.

12247  
CSO: 2600/686

COMMENTATOR ASSAILS SOLIDARITY'S IMPROPER USE OF FUNDS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Apr 83 p 4

[Article by Jerzy Bielecki: "Finance and Politics: What Solidarity Funds Were Used For"]

[Excerpts] For several months now, underground bulletins and Polish-language foreign broadcasting stations have been launching a broad campaign over the issue of former Solidarity funds. The underground and its Western allies protest giving these union funds to [the new] trade unions, and argue that these funds rightfully belong to them; "money collected by working people should serve these people," is how their argument goes.

This sounds fine, but facts and documents show by whom, and for what purposes, these sums were actually used. Let us take a look at the rich and interesting materials which the Supreme Chamber of Control [NIK] collected during the latter half of 1982 while auditing former Solidarity Regional Boards' books.

In the autumn of 1980, when Solidarity was in its first phase, its structures were simple, and its full-time staff small. This, however, changed after a few months. In 1981, especially after Interfactory Founding Committees transformed themselves into Regional Boards, and after regional congresses and the national congress, Solidarity's full-time staff inflated to more than 40,000 people, outbidding in this respect the former CRZ7 [Central Council of Trade Unions] with all its branch or regional agencies.

Typically, Solidarity's staff steadily expanded by calling to life new commissions, sections or centers, yet without any accurate definition of their activities, competences, or duties at individual posts.

One good example of using union funds for non-union purposes was the so-called "network" of large work places, founded on March 17, 1981, and later recognized by Solidarity's National Commission as a consultative center for the whole union. Just what were these "network's" tasks? At first, it promoted the concept of what was called social (as distinct from state-owned) enterprise, worked out its own concepts for elections to People's Councils and self-governing bodies, and challenged the government's anti-crisis and economic stabilization plans.

But, in November 1981, on the initiative of the "network's" chief, Docent Jerzy Milewski (now in charge of anti-Polish activities by Brussels-based Solidarity emigre organizations), work was started on developing a platform, statutes and organization of a Polish Labor Party (PPP), which was to transform the current nation-wide management system into a "nation-wide self-government system." Thus, Milewski's true ambition was to found his own political party which, briefly, would assume a leading role in the Polish state. This clearly indicates that his activities were geared at overthrowing the state's political system.

Now, who paid for these activities? Doubtlessly, "friends" in the West did partly with subsidies and donations. But, many a zloty from union dues went to finance this essentially political affair, as the PPP actually was.

Regional Boards' documents are very incomplete. Summary statistical reports, union dues lists, or full documentation of resolutions or decisions are missing. Still, it can be ascertained that, late in November 1981, seven Regional Boards (Bydgoszcz, Lower Silesia, Gdansk, Malopolska, Opole, Swietokrzyski, and Wielkopolska) had in all 968 full-time employees on their payrolls. For example, the Bydgoszcz Regional Board had two persons on its payroll in September 1980, while in November 1981, there were 97 on it. In the Lower Silesia Regional Board, the payroll expanded from nine in February to 203 persons in November 1981. The Malopolska Regional Board had 25 employees in December 1980, but 187 in November 1981.

So, calls to fight red tape and inflated administration prove to have been, like many other slogans, no more than demagogical moves, for, in its own organization, Solidarity's leadership was doing the very things it was castigating. In the Malopolska Regional Board, as much as 29.4% of all expenditures went for salaries.

Solidarity also called for economizing in spending and fighting any wasteful use of resources. These are good things to advocate, but finance documents of Regional Boards testify to many deviations from regulations in force. One example of this is the ubiquitous practice of taking advance sums for various purposes.

The Gdansk Regional Board's documents show that on May 31, 1981, as many as 66 persons lagged behind schedule in settling their advance payments, which totaled 1,144,000 zloty. By October 31, 1981, 20 employees still failed to settle their accounts, to a total sum of 467,000 zloty (one of these is Bogdan Lis, who owed 60,600 zloty).

As of December 12, 1981, unsettled advance payments in three Regional Boards (Gdansk, Swietokrzyski, Wielkopolska) and in the Legnica District Board amounted to 7.7 million zloty. This does not include another 3.6 million zloty in declared organizational costs before Solidarity's 1st National Congress, which also remain to be cleared.

Office equipment purchases constituted another significant expenditure. While the Radom Regional Board assumed from the former Voivodship Council of Trade Unions [WRZZ] equipment worth 347,000 zloty, it spent nearly 2 million zloty more to buy new equipment in 1981 alone!

NIK data show that personnel costs accounted for 30-40% of Solidarity's total spending. This compares to 8.7% of union dues spent on manpower and administration costs by the former CRZZ in 1979. It should, of course, be remembered that CRZZ's administrative structure was fiercely--and often justly--criticized for its red tape and outsized administrative staff. If so, then what can be said about Solidarity?

But, even if it was true that this new spontaneous union movement was still in the process of organizing itself and that this may perhaps account for this 30-40%, then the remaining 60-70% can be expected to have been used to finance typical union activities, such as welfare actions, summer camps for children, allowances, etc.

Nothing of the sort happened. Solidarity's strictly union activities claimed only negligible sums, which is an unprecedented practice not only in the history of the trade union movement in Poland, but also elsewhere.

NIK data show that, out of a total of more than 70 million zloty in expenditures, six of the audited Regional Boards spent a mere 1,281,000 zloty for social and union purposes. The Kutno Regional Board, for instance, spent a whole 0.7% of its expenditures for these purposes, while the Opole Regional Board spent just 0.39%.

One is tempted to ask how money, collected as working people's dues, money that was its property, was refunded to those in need. .... es of union funds?

Documents of former Solidarity Regional Boards show most expenditures for so-called information and propaganda actions. Various bulletins, leaflets or posters cost a lot. Also expensive were printing materials and equipment, illegal publications, or communications equipment and telex maintenance costs.

The Gdansk Regional Board spent 32%, and the Wielkopolska Region 38.3% of their total funds on information and propaganda. These are estimates based on documented expenses. In fact, "non" propaganda claimed much greater funds. According to accountants employed by the Malopolska Regional Board, propaganda expenses were not documented, because its information section was independent of its general accounting section.

Union funds were used to finance anti-socialist groups, such as the Confederation for an Independent Poland [KPN] or the so-called Committee for the Defense of Prisoners of Conscience, to keep libraries of uncensored publications, or to subsidize publishing centers engaged almost exclusively in producing anti-socialist and anti-Polish literature, recordings or films.

Some details of this "propaganda" actions are curious. In January, 1981, for instance, Lech Walesa and Sz. Pawlicki, a member of the Gdansk Inter-factory Founding Committee, signed a contract with the Lodz Film School to produce, in cooperation with Solidarity, a movie on Anna Walentynowicz at an estimated cost of 384,700 zloty.

In August, 1981, Solidarity's information and propaganda bureau signed a contract with a T. Korzeniewski for collecting materials and writing a book to be called WALESIA. Korzeniewski was to receive 40,000 zloty for collecting the materials, and 10,000 zloty for every 20 standard typewritten pages, which made 500 zloty per page, a royalty not even the most outstanding writers would have been offered at the time...

In the fourth quarter of 1981, the Lower Silesia Regional Board organized two events at the Wroclaw Opera--a gala show on [pre-war Polish Independence Day] November 11, and an oratory called "Dream of Contempt," which cost some 2.7 million zloty. Royalties were generous. The sound track's composer received 210,000 zloty and the director 70,000 zloty, while sets for the two events cost 90,000 zloty. The actors were paid 40,000 zloty apiece.

The Opole Regional Board organized late in August, 1981, two gala shows for a mere half-million zloty.

In the latter half of 1981, the Lower Silesia Regional Board spent 8.2 million zloty to purchase some 300 titles of various illegal publications. Ironically, while these were to be the basic stocks of "union libraries," they included mainly anti-Soviet and anti-communist publications such as TERROR AND REVOLUTION, SOVIET OCCUPATION, or a thick volume called KPN.

In this way, those who allegedly opposed arrogance and conceit, arbitrariness and red tape, themselves organized a bureaucratic apparatus controlled by no one, which squandered union funds for purposes which had nothing to do with trade union activities. In their scenario, the working class was to be merely a smoke-screen for destroying the state's constitutional order; on top of this, the working class was to pay for it all, and pay in the literal sense of the word.

CSO: 2600/841

WARSAW PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Reports Campaign Conference Activities

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 28 Feb 83 p 1

[Text] Under the slogan "the strength of the party is its tie with the working class," the reports conference of the Warsaw organization of the PZPR was held on 26 February at the Marceli Nowotka Works in Warsaw.

The conference was attended by the first secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR, the premier and general of the army, Wojciech Jaruzelski. The participants included members of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee: the secretary of the Central Committee, Miroslaw Milewski; the minister of Foreign Affairs, Stefan Olszowski; construction foreman Albin Siwak; first secretary of the Warsaw Committee, Marian Wozniak; deputy member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Jan Glowczyk; secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, Waldemar Swirgon; vice-premier Zbigniew Szalajda; and heads of the Central Committee's departments: Kazimierz Cypryniak (Organizational), Eugeniusz Duraczynski (Science and Education), Brig Gen Tadeusz Dziekan (Personnel), Boguslaw Kolodziejczak (Office of the Secretariat of the Central Committee), and Jerzy Majka (Information).

The following ministers were present: Wladyslaw Baka, Gen Tadeusz Hupalawski, Stanislaw Kukuryka, Edward Lukosz, Tadeusz Nestorowicz, Kazimierz Zygułski, scientific secretary of PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences] Professor Zdzislaw Kaczmarek, and Stanislaw Kociolek, the PRL ambassador to the USSR, who was the first secretary of the Warsaw Committee of the PZPR for more than half of the current reports period.

The participants observed a minute of silence to honor the memory of the recently deceased comrades who had been connected with Warsaw in their work and struggle, including Wladyslaw Gomulka and Zofia Marchiewska.

The Warsaw organization of the PZPR, which numbers 155,300 members and candidates, was represented at the conference by 372 delegates.

Marian Wozniak gave the report of the executive board of the Provincial Committee of the PZPR. A lively discussion followed, which lasted for many hours.

### First Secretary Marian Wozniak's Speech

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 28 Feb 83 p 3

[Text] We come to today's conference after a period of hard struggles for the party and the socialist state. Together we have created the program of the Ninth Congress, fighting at the same time for a proper settlement of affairs within the party. The active members of the Warsaw party organization know well the activity and the true face of the enemies and socialism. Various social circles have revealed their disillusionment and ideological weaknesses, including considerable portions of the intelligentsia, particularly those in the arts and humanities. But we should not generalize. This does not apply to all circles. Too many people, however, have let down the party for us not to notice.

That time will remain an important lesson for us. It must be a lesson that will protect us once and for all from mistakes--not from the possibility of making them, for no one can be safe from that--but from the rashness with which we followed a wrong path leading to mistakes. We must draw all the theoretical and practical conclusions from this lesson. Only when this happens will we be able to admit that the mobilizing and profound thought of the party as "the same but not the same" has been realized.

In the Warsaw organization of the PZPR we should take upon ourselves the obligation to make this slogan an everyday, meaningful reality. The fact that we are based in the capital does not lighten our task; on the contrary, it obliges us to set an example and to show greater responsibility.

The Warsaw party organization, albeit numerically weaker than 2 years ago, is more united around the program of the Ninth Congress. The great majority of the newly elected membership quickly became toughened in the political struggle and repulsed efforts to suppress them. This must be emphasized, for in Warsaw, too, harmful ideas have arisen about changing the name of the party and even forming a new party of a so-called vanguard character...

Undoubtedly we could have accomplished more if many party members, and even entire organizations, had associated the statute not only with rights but also with duties. In order to function properly, the party cannot be a debating club. It must be a disciplined organization of ideologically conscious people who wish to act effectively and who intelligently combine the principles of democracy and centralism. The reports campaign ending with today's conference has contributed fuller assessments and new ideas to the Warsaw organization of the PZPR. This campaign was different from the one held 2 years ago. During that campaign we fought for the very existence of the party; in this one, for its quality and efficiency. What we have achieved is only the preliminary for the necessary offensive of all our cells.

The renewal of our sociopolitical life--said the first secretary of the Provincial Committee--is no longer an abstraction today, but it has not yet been fully accomplished. It is hard to put deadlines on the process of improving life. The most important prerequisite for the success of the party's program, according to the first secretary, is the elimination of social injustice, greed, profiteering, and egoism in the placing of personal interest above the welfare of the state. The Warsaw party organization, he emphasized, must see to it that the costs of overcoming the crisis are distributed fairly, according to the principle: he who has more should bear a heavier burden.

In describing the plans of the Warsaw party organization for the coming months of the current term, M. Wozniak said that personnel policy is an essential element in the guiding role of the PZPR. This policy must be guided by criteria of professional expertise and social attitude in order to gain wide support among nonparty citizens. We want to entrust responsible functions to people, who regardless of whether they are party members or not, will guarantee implementation of the tasks set by the party and the socialist state.

The Warsaw party organization will concentrate on solving the everyday problems of the city and the province, on carrying out economic reform and on raising the political consciousness of all the residents of the capital.

Referring to the international situation, particularly to the revisionist tendencies in the policies of the FRG government, the first secretary of the Provincial Committee said: "All the postwar generations have associated the hopeful word 'peace' with Warsaw. From the banks of the Vistula have frequently come peace initiatives and appeals for peace addressed to world opinion. Warsaw, as the capital of Poland, has its part in many undertakings for strengthening peace and cooperation among nations. We take pride in this and shall try to justify Warsaw's reputation."

#### Discussions of Conference Delegates

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 28 Feb 83 pp 3, 7

[Text] During the discussion, much attention was given to the work done by the Warsaw party organization. Assessments were based on the resolutions of the 18th program-electoral conference of June 1981. The beneficial changes in the style and methods of the organization's work were emphasized repeatedly, but concern was expressed about shortcomings, lethargy and self-satisfaction over past results.

The basic issue, as the participants in the discussion emphasized, is the rebuilding of the organization's authority, the strengthening of its influence, and the full mobilization of its membership. "We say that the party is getting back on its feet. Yes, but with tremendous difficulty," stated Marek Jablonski of the Polnoc KBM [Residential Construction

Combine]. Organizations today face formidable tasks arising from the complex political and economic situation. The intense political struggle is continuing. Gossip, calumny of the authorities, and attacks against party members are everyday aspects of this struggle.

The question was asked whether the party possessed suitable arguments in this struggle. "What is left of the programs and resolutions?" asked one of the delegates. "Aren't they disappearing in a flood of papers and bureaucratic red tape? Our daily life is still accompanied by much wastefulness and slipshod work. How are we counteracting this as a party?"

Much attention was devoted to the ideological activity of the party and to the situation of the Warsaw creative intelligentsia. Jan Mackiewicz, first secretary of the Urban-Communal Committee in Pruszkow, stated that as far as ideological meetings were concerned, something had just started during the reports campaign. Feliks Jancewicz of the Warszawa Steel Works pointed out that the process of purging the party had not touched many administrative units. Observing their activity, one must ask where the party is there.

Stanislaw Lojewski of the SGGW [Main School of Farming] stated that the party should launch an all-out offensive, but this offensive is hindered by the fact that many activists have been demoralized in recent years by the attacks of counterrevolutionary forces and by rightwing revisionist forces.

Jozef Lenart, the first secretary of the Warsaw branch of the ZLP [Polish Writers Union], discussed the literary situation. It is very complicated, but the party's authority is growing. Polish literature has not been driven into emigration by the socialist opposition. Two years ago our party positions in the ZLP were weaker than they are today. We were clustered around the Warsaw Committee. We were called the "Warsaw blockheads." Now that even sounds complimentary. We didn't allow socialism to be destroyed, and we didn't allow ourselves to be brain-washed. The speaker focused on the duties of the intelligentsia, especially its role in the party. For the party cannot do without the intelligentsia, just as a nation cannot do without culture.

Professor Broszkiewicz of the IBJ [Institute of Nuclear Research] stressed that scientific institutions were the object of a fierce political struggle that has not yet ended. He also declared that the role of scientific institutions is to preserve the scientific foundation of the economy.

During the discussion, much emphasis was placed on the need to strengthen the role of the POP [basic party organization] and its standing in the workplace. Nothing that concerns workplaces and the life of the country can be decided without consulting party organizations.

The conference participants felt that POP's had been overlooked in discussions of important legislative acts, or that these discussions had been insufficient. This was the case with the law on pensions and

retirement, workers' self-management and state enterprises, and with the draft of the law on national councils. Wide discussion of the draft of the law on national councils and local self-government was deemed essential.

Frequent mention was made of problems connected with the introduction of economic reform. Henryk Solinski, the delegate from the M. Nowotka Machine Tool Works, pointed out many inconsistencies between plans and their implementation. He also said that the workers in the plant felt they were bearing the whole burden of the reform. It reaches the shop floor solely in the form of price increases for many basic articles. He stated that reform cannot be a goal in itself, for our goal is socialism.

"Today the worker cannot afford to redeem all his ration coupons," said Zbigniew Serwicki of the Ursus Machine Tool Plant.

Representatives of the government, using an unspecified surplus, are getting on people's nerves. If as much money was paid out last December as is reported, this is a scandal and someone should answer for it. "We must work out a uniform organizational-financial system," stated Jerzy Sobis of the WSK. "It will form a new outlook on economic issues. We should hurry with reform, but everything that concerns it must be thought through. In our opinion, the middle levels of management are distorting the reform."

There was very great emphasis placed on the issue of social justice and the need to intensify the struggle against speculation and the charging of exorbitant prices by industries, craft shops, leased private businesses, and foreign export-import companies. It was also pointed out that reform cannot have negative consequences only on the level of workers' everyday lives.

Many participants mentioned the difficult social situation of working-class families, large families and young couples. In this context, it was pointed out that all planned price increases must take into account the material situation and attitudes of the work forces. The questionnaire printed in KURIER POLSKI was criticized, inasmuch as an increase in prices will not create additional goods. Not everyone can afford such high prices. These cannot be prices for a financial elite.

Wanda Dabrowska of the Rosa Luksemburg Electric Bulb Plant sharply attacked profiteering and speculation. "Who," she asked, "can afford a cruise on the 'Stefan Batory' that is being advertised in the press for 340,000 zlotys? Who can afford Adidas running shoes that are being sold in stores for 11,000 zlotys?"

The problems of economic reform were considered from many points of view. In the opinion of Jozef Drozdziel of the Warsaw College of Engineering, the extensive model of management is still mandatory in many enterprises.

The plan and the output are taken into account, but not the introduction of technological and economic innovations. There is still a lack of strong ties between science, technology and production. The speaker called for the creation of a governmental center for science and technological progress that would be independent of other departments. It would help coordinate the activities of technical institutes and production enterprises.

Speeches devoted to the problems of creative and cultural circles make up a separate group. "Contrary to what centers of enemy propaganda are claiming," said Rafal Lakowski of the PWN [Polish Scientific Publishers], "we do not have a cultural desert in Poland. Thanks to the activities of the Warsaw party organization, culture in the capital has not been devastated. We must say explicitly, however, that the political battle for this culture has not ended. The party still has a great deal of work to do in order to eliminate the ideological chaos among the intelligentsia."

Andrzej Krasicki, representing the theater world, added that lately there has been a considerable increase in the number of important cultural and artistic figures who wholeheartedly support the program of socialist renewal and who declare their willingness to foster the interests of the people's state.

Educational and youth issues were the subject of the speech by Andrzej Kawka, a journalist. According to him, a spirit of rebellion, ideological deviation and underground leaflets are appearing in the schools. Among those young people who cause educators the most trouble, one quite often finds children of people with very well known names. One must ask if this is happening because the schools are at fault or because the ideological fervor of the parents extends only as far as the threshold of their own apartment.

The participants stressed the influence that the attitudes of educators and parents have on the upbringing of the younger generation. It was said that the fate of the younger generation and the future of the country depend in large measure on the mode of upbringing and on the development of a proper value system in the young.

The participants also familiarized themselves with the problems of the Warsaw public health service. "The resolutions of the 18th conference were implemented during a period that was most difficult from the economic viewpoint," stated Bohdan Milewski. However, a constant increase in investment is necessary in this area. The proper base and personnel are needed. To maintain the public health service, if only in its present inefficient state, a large increase in investment is required. Radical measures must be undertaken to meet social expectations. It must also be realized that the activity of the health service is affected by a number of external factors, such as the construction, chemical and pharmaceutical industries.

Opinions on the Warsaw public health service, the activity of the city public services, and housing construction were reflected in the assessment of the municipal authorities that was presented to the participants by the mayor of Warsaw, Gen Mieczyslaw Debicki.

The program for improving living conditions that was contained in General Debicki's report met with the enthusiastic approval of the participants. Kazimierz Gralak, representing the work force of the MZK [Urban Transport Establishment], expressed appreciation to the municipal authorities for their final decisions concerning the time of transfer of equipment to the Warsaw passenger transport service.

Conclusions from the discussion, and the problems considered during the meeting, were set out in the resolution of the conference.

#### Comments From Conference Delegates

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 28 Feb 83 pp 3, 7

[Article: "Special for the EXPRESS--the Delegates Speak"]

[Text] During the intermissions in the conference, we asked several delegates for their comments.

"I'd like to mention a certain problem," said Marek Zawadzki, a printer who was the delegate from the party organization at the Tamka Printing Works. "It's connected with the better use of paper, production facilities and workers in printing establishments. We could save paper for books and manuals just by reducing slightly the number of journals being published. Some of them have such a small circulation that it would be more worthwhile to duplicate them in small copy centers.

Printing machines are very expensive, and it costs a lot to use and service them. In the difficult economic situation, in view of the scarcity of books, we should see to it that these machines are used to optimum advantage."

"My name is Eugeniusz Kedra. I represent the party organization at the Academy of Internal Affairs," our next interviewee introduces himself. "In our school organization we devote a lot of attention to political and ideological education. Many of us are lecturers from party echelons on the district, provincial and central level. We see to it that our lecturers are as well prepared as possible for their work.

In their teaching activities, our lecturers try to present their knowledge and experiences both from the years of struggle for the consolidation of democracy and from their current work for the maintenance of law and order."

"I'm particularly interested in general agricultural issues and problems connected with agricultural science," said Zygmunt Staszewski, the delegate from the party organization at the Institute of Plant Cultivation in Blon. "Warsaw province is unique in this regard. Many industrial enterprises and central institutions are located here, so the conference participants gave little attention to agricultural issues. It's true they did emphasize the very important problem of the proper relation between industry and agriculture, but that's not the only problem for farmers in Warsaw province. I believe that agriculture will find its due place in the resolution."

"The problems with which I came to the conference concern economic reform," said Bozena Lesinska, a worker at the Warsaw Television Factory who represented the Praga-Polnoc [Praga-North] district. "I believe the credibility of the party will not be an empty phrase if the basic stages of economic reform are implemented consistently.

"Many problems of fundamental importance remain to be solved. One of these is the independence of enterprises and their functioning under the current well developed tax system. During the meetings of the factory party organization, we worked out proposals and requests regarding the use of a portion of the tax monies.

"We also want more openness in this area. It would be good if it were clearly marked on price lists and labels of articles how much the buyer is paying to the producer and how much to the state treasury in taxes. That would strengthen social control of expenditures. The deductions for FAZ are a similar problem. We'd like to know more precisely what the treasury revenues from these deductions are being used for.

"Our next proposal concerns the publicizing, if only in newspaper columns, of examples of good solutions for motivational systems. We're also thinking of changing the economic planning model. It has to be focused more narrowly on selected production areas that will yield the best possible output. For we cannot afford to develop all sectors of the economy at once.

"As far as the discussion is concerned, I'm a bit dissatisfied. There have not been enough authentic voices yet from factories and enterprises. The party's role has been strengthened, but it is obvious from the participants' statements that party work as such is concentrated largely on the level of factory committees."

Czeslaw Jajszczyk, the delegate from the Roza Luksemburg Electric Bulb Plant [ZWLE], remarked: "It should be pointed out that the primary topic of many speeches has been the issue of social justice--not equality but justice--in regard to income distribution, sharing the burden of overcoming the crisis, etc.

"I believe that is the correct approach to our problems. For while we are succeeding in normalizing some areas, the just distribution of the national income is in--excuse me for the ugly word--a mess.

"People have been saying in private that some speeches are too strong, exaggerated or downright demagogic. My own view is this: I may agree or disagree with a speech's content and even with its style. That's a matter of judgement. But there's another, very important thing: people should speak candidly. Let them be wrong in their judgements, let them even get carried away by polemical passion, but let them speak candidly.

"I'm concerned that many people, even those holding positions in the state administration, agree that we're right when speaking with us confidentially. They agree we're right and say that not much can be done. If representatives of the government talk this way, then who is going to get anything done or take care of any business? After all, these people write the laws and issue various acts and decrees."

"What have we brought with us to the conference? Above all, the conviction that with the good will of the people, problems can be mastered," replied Wieslaw Kaminski, the delegate from Grodzisk Mazowiecki. "We've decided in our organization--I serve in it as the first secretary of the town and commune--that we'll undertake only those tasks which we're capable of implementing. For it is only through complete implementation of decisions that we can rebuild the party's authority.

"For us the most important issues, apart from party affairs, are those which most concern the residents of Grodzisk. Their chief concern is the housing situation.

"There's such a nice ring to the statement that we've had a cessation of investment during the past 5 years. But behind this statement lie people's unmet, very urgent needs. We have a shortage of at least 10,000 apartments; I'm speaking only of those who are waiting their turn in the Grodzisk Housing Cooperative.

"To make a dent in this problem, we want to build about 1,000 apartments annually. As the Grodzisk party echelon, we are doing everything to create such possibilities.

"The town presently has about 23,000 residents. We believe it need not be a bedroom suburb of the capital, with all the bad consequences of that. The Grodzisk region has some 130,000 people, who must live in decent conditions and have access to stores, daycare centers, kindergartens, a hospital, etc.

"Therefore, in light of what the mayor of Warsaw, General Debicki, said today on the podium, we can look forward to the building of the Western Hospital in Grodzisk Maz. Everything is ready for its construction. We have only to begin this investment, which is important not only for us and our province."

Warsaw Reports Conference Resolutions

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 2 Mar 83 p 5

[Article by (a1)]

[Text] The Warsaw Reports Conference of the PZPR was held on 26 February. As we have already written in a report on this meeting, the delegates passed the program resolution, which incorporated remarks and conclusions from the discussion and which accepted the assessments of the suggestions regarding the work guidelines contained in the reform of the Provincial Committee's Executive Board.

The document states that during the reports period the Warsaw Committee properly implemented the guidelines of the resolution of the 18th Warsaw Program-Electoral Conference, and that the committee was quite successful in implementing the resolution, particularly in the immediate jurisdiction of the Warsaw party organization.

The conference expressed appreciation for the efforts of the central government in implementing international policy based on the alliance with the Soviet Union and all the member countries of the Warsaw Pact. "In the international arena," the resolution declares, "the keystone of peace is the cohesiveness of the bloc of socialist states and communists throughout the world, and unity in implementing leninist peace policy in alliance with all progressive forces." The document voices the indignation and protest of all the residents of Warsaw in regard to the recently renewed attempts by a representative of the FRG government to call into question the inviolability of postwar European boundaries and the territorial integrity of Poland.

The party, including the Warsaw organization, has properly implemented the tasks set by the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR, particularly since the Fourth Plenum of the Central Committee. The resolution expressed appreciation, for their selflessness, commitment and fortitude, to the working class, the party echelons, the active party members and all those who effectively resisted at the most difficult moments the collective strike hysteria, the psychological terror and the adversaries' machinations.

In assessing the domestic situation, it was found that social tension still exists. Particularly distressing are the considerable deterioration of living conditions among average citizens, the unequalness of the economic hardships resulting from the crisis, and the growing class differentiation, which is creating a mood of distrust and uncertainty about the future. "The key to overcoming the crisis," the resolution emphasized, "lies in the party, in its organizational and ideological unity based on democratic centralism."

The resolution recognized the necessity of economic reform to fulfill not only economic but also social and political needs. In compliance with party guidelines, reforms must be implemented and monitored in such a manner as to unite the workers' interests more firmly with the interests of the economy and the socialist state. It was considered necessary for basic party organizations and all party members to become fully involved in the reform process. As the resolution states: "The party has taken up the cause of reform; it is the party's obligation to carry it through."

The conference obliged the Warsaw Committee to analyze at a plenary session, the socioeconomic plan for Warsaw province for the years 1983-85, and to draw up a suitable list of priorities. Special attention should be given to housing construction and to improvement of municipal transport and public services.

The resolution defines the tasks to which the basic party organizations and all party members should devote more activity. These tasks are: raising the level of the political and economic education of party members; formation and development of class-oriented trade unions; improvement of the style of work of the economic and state administration.

The document then assessed the situation in individual fields of activity in the city and province of Warsaw, and defined the main tasks of party work in these fields.

The main tasks in the field of science and culture include: further progress in consolidating party forces and increasing party influence in this field; increasing the echelon's assistance to party organizations active in the sphere of culture; working out a clear definition of the status of these organizations; expansion of their role in formulating program and personnel policy.

In the field of education, party work should concentrate on: continuation of activities for maintaining discipline in schools; raising the level of teaching and strengthening the socialist system of academic education; creating conditions for enhancing the party's organizational and leadership functions in education; assistance in establishing a Polish Teachers' Union and in developing youth organizations in schools.

In the public health service, one of the most important tasks is the scrupulous observance of deadlines for implementing planned investments and current repairs. In addition, immediate action must be taken to provide low- and medium-level medical personnel.

In the rural districts of Warsaw province, the tasks of party organizations include: constant political and economic activity to improve living conditions; and creation of suitable incentives for young people to remain in the countryside and to take over farms.

In party work with youth, the resolution considers the following tasks to be the most urgent: creation of conditions conducive to various forms of social and professional activity among youth; and carrying out constant ideological and organizational activity in order to win the allegiance of youth movement activists to the party.

In the final part of the document, the conference recommends that the direct meetings of the party echelon with representatives of various spheres of activity in Warsaw be continued. The detailed proposals submitted during the reports campaign and during the conference are to be examined by the Executive Board of the Warsaw Committee, and their authors and the party organizations are to be informed of the means of implementation.

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SOCIAL, POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF POLISH INTELLIGENTSIA VIEWED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 2, Feb 83 pp 127-137

[Article by Janusz Sztumski: "Observations on the Intelligentsia in Poland"]

[Text] In order to consider the transformations of the intelligentsia in Poland, it is necessary to answer at the outset the question of what the Intelligentsia is, as one of the elements in the structure of our society. Such an answer may seem at first glance to be superfluous, since when people speak of the intelligentsia in the sociological meaning of the word, one receives the impression that everyone knows quite well what this is about. With a somewhat more critical approach, however, it turns out that this element of the social structure is simply more difficult to define than others, both in view of its genetic and its qualitative heterogeneity. There is thus nothing surprising in the fact that we frequently encounter, not only in journalism, such general definitions of the intelligentsia as, for example, "a classlike stratum," "an intermediate stratum," or "a stratum of educated people possessing certain skills," and similar formulations, which are examples of the diverse tentative definitions that have appeared as a result of the specific needs of scholars or practical people.

In undertaking an attempt at a more complete and dynamic definition of the intelligentsia, it is necessary to be aware of the fact that no definition of any element of the social structure is the final one, in view of the transformations of this structure and its elements. Even if these transformations of the social structure take place slowly, sooner or later they always bring about the obsolescence of the previously established concepts.

1. The Intelligentsia as a Social Stratum

In our sociological literature, the intelligentsia, understood as an element of the social structure, is defined by the terms "stratum" or "social category." Since each of these terms has its own meaning in sociology, it is necessary to consider the extent to which they are useful in defining the intelligentsia.

It is well known that thus far sociology has lacked an unequivocal definition of "stratum," and the existing ones differ not only in their degree of abstraction, and the scope of their practical usefulness, but also in general by what

is meant by the concepts mentioned. Referring to the known definitions of the term "stratum," one may distinguish the following interpretations of it:

- a) strata are social categories that are characterized by specific traits, empirically verified, which can be graduated, thus allowing a hierarchy to be established for them;
- b) strata are a set of units generally in a similar economic situation and at a collective level of culture, for whom custom, tradition, and all sorts of binding principles of the social hierarchy delimit a rather clearly defined and permanent superior or inferior position in relations with the representatives of other strata<sup>1</sup>;
- c) strata are relatively numerous groups of people who have a certain awareness of their commonality and separateness with respect to other groups.

The term "social category" is also understood in various ways. The most highly developed concept of it was presented by T. Szczurkiewicz. According to this concept, it is a set of people separated in the practice of social life within the limits of communities or social collectives in view of specific physical or other traits, which either by themselves or through their real or dynamic structural or functional connection with other traits appear to people to be so important that they associate them with specific social obligations (or "functions") and authorities (or "positions").<sup>2</sup>

It appears that none of the above-mentioned meanings of the terms "stratum" and "social category" covers in its full scope such an entity as the intelligentsia in our society.

I think that the intelligentsia is a stratum of a special type. On the other hand, it is not a social category. It is also not just<sup>3</sup> a "collection of any professional categories," as J. Szczepanski defines it, since this is too narrow a formulation, which does not take into account the fact that the intelligentsia includes not only people of various professions, but also with differing educations or social origins, as a result of which the identification of individual persons with this collection can be fairly varied.

In my opinion, the intelligentsia is rather a historically and culturally formed collection of various social categories, which creates its own stratum, existing--depending on the class structure of a given society--between classes, next to them, and even within individual classes.<sup>4</sup>

In Polish society between the wars, in which ruling and exploited classes existed, the intelligentsia was an intermediate class, existing between the antagonistic classes, although some of its representatives formed part of the ruling classes, such as, for example, various directors or different specialists who were joint owners of factories or owners of farms. On the other hand, in the social structure of the Polish People's Republic, the intelligentsia has been transformed into a stratum situated next to the classes existing in the structure, and it even penetrates into them, as in the case, for example, with the rural or worker intelligentsia.

Within the collection of social categories that constitute the intelligentsia, it is possible to distinguish individual integral parts. For example, J. Szczepanski distinguished the following:

- a) the creative intelligentsia--scientists, writers, artists, actors, journalists, etc.;
- b) experts--so-called intellectual workers with a higher education, independently utilizing their knowledge to resolve professional problems, e.g. doctors, engineers, teachers, etc.;
- c) managers and organizers of political, social, economic, and cultural life;
- d) administrative and office workers, who form the basic group of intellectual workers.<sup>7</sup>

In our further deliberations we will attempt to establish what the intelligentsia was and is in our society. On the basis of the difference between what it actually was and what it is at present, we will be able to define not only the initial and present social position of the intelligentsia and its appropriateness, but also the transformations that it has experienced in the political, economic, and cultural spheres.

## 2. The Intelligentsia Between the Wars

If we wish to understand what the intelligentsia was like and what it was at the moment when the Polish People's Republic appeared, we have to reach back somewhat to the statistical data describing the intelligentsia and its structure on the basis of the social structure of Poland between the wars.

The social structure of Poland during this period, in estimated formulations, was as follows: the ruling classes were 2.36 percent of the population (including 0.36 percent landowners); the intermediate classes and strata were 17 percent (including 6 percent intelligentsia); and the exploited classes were 80 percent (including 7 percent industrial workers, 52 percent peasants, and about 7 percent unemployed).

According to estimates from the year 1939, the intelligentsia included about 700,000 people, who together with their families constituted about 6 percent of the total population. Of this amount--according to estimated evaluations by J. Szczepanski--10,000 were the creative intelligentsia, including scholars, writers, artists, actors, journalists, etc.; 50,000 were specialists with a higher education, e.g. doctors, engineers, lawyers, etc.; about 250,000 people with a secondary school education or higher were employed as teachers, middle-level supervisory personnel in the economy, or administrative personnel, and as many as 350,000 people formed a group of workers who occupied lower and generally poorly paid posts (many of them did not even have a secondary school education), who were included in the so-called "intellectual proletariat."<sup>8</sup>

It is clear from the above data that about half of the people included in the intelligentsia possessed at most a secondary school education. Only just under

1.5 percent of them were included in the creative intelligentsia. What then linked these people, who were after all very different from one another from the standpoint of their type and degree of education, social position, the size of their income, the type of work they performed, and their social origin? In the opinion of Jozef Chalasinski, the bond linking these people was their individual way of life, which determined the maintenance of a social position within the limits of "people of the sphere" or "good society".<sup>7</sup> He therefore also considered the intelligentsia to be a social-society stratum.<sup>8</sup>

What does "social-society stratum" mean from the sociological point of view, however? I do not think that it means much, since this is not only an imprecise definition, but also one that is sometimes unfair to the intelligentsia, since its real function and social position were concealed in a bourgeois-landowner society such as Poland between the wars.

It is well known, however, that the appearance of the intelligentsia in the meaning that interests us was governed by the social division of labor, and more precisely, by the separation of the activities in which intellectual work was predominant, and which were thus associated with the organization of labor and workers' jobs, the administration and management of groups of people and institutions, with the need for resolving various theoretical and practical problems, with the development of science and culture, etc., generally requiring a certain education. Each of the professional categories that constitutes the intelligentsia thus performs various social functions derived from the historically formed division of labor. It is also necessary to recall, however, that the ruling classes utilized certain types of intellectual labor as an instrument for exploiting the working masses, for example management and supervisory jobs associated with servicing machinery of the state, with ideological influence, etc. As a result of this, the intelligentsia as a whole performed a very essential sociopolitical function. This function linked it in a fundamental manner to the ruling classes, delimited its social position, and formed its way of life. Therefore, even the part that has been defined with the name "intellectual proletariat," which was more poorly-rewarded than the "worker aristocracy," nevertheless felt itself as a whole--precisely from the standpoint of this sociopolitical function performed by the intelligentsia in the bourgeois-landowner state--to be spiritually more closely linked to the ruling classes than to the exploited ones..

J. Chalasinski accurately pointed out that "the Polish intelligentsia was formed from the Polish nobility during the process of its economic, social, and political degradation."<sup>9</sup> This social origin of the intelligentsia, however, did not determine its social and spiritual aspect as much as its actual sociopolitical functions performed in a state of the given type and in a society rent by class antagonisms.

The fact that the Polish intelligentsia included people recruited most frequently from the impoverished nobility, and from a lesser degree from the bourgeoisie or middle class, and only to an insignificant degree from the peasant or worker class, was not obviously the fact of the matter. For people

among the landowner class, which had declined economically, crossing over into the intelligentsia was simply equivalent to a social degradation or with regard to the next position in the social structure at the time. Consequently, the impoverished nobility entered the intelligentsia through the force of their own social inertia, i.e. on the basis of the societal inheritance brought from home, the education they possessed at a secondary school level, and their family and societal connections.

For people from the bourgeois class, the social status of the intelligentsia was instead not so attractive as to be selected for reasons other than economic necessity.

It was only for the petty bourgeoisie that entering the intelligentsia was an opportunity for advancement. This was not at all that easy for the impoverished strata of the middle class, however. Instead, it was more difficult for people leaving the worker or peasant class, as indicated by the results of various studies.<sup>10</sup>

The selection of "intelligentsia professions" was thus closely determined by socioeconomic conditions, and reflected various social inequalities; this also had a fundamental bearing on the social composition of the intelligentsia.

As a result of various historical determining factors in Poland between the wars and its socioeconomic backwardness, the Polish intelligentsia was recruited primarily from the lower strata of nobility, burdened by numerous complexes, under the influence of which they were more inclined to contemplate the just than to come out against the changes caused by the industrial revolution. Consequently, they were more dominated by an affinity for the academic professions than for the technical professions.

The intelligentsia was also a relatively small collection of different social categories, in view of the fact that it was only 6 percent of the total population. This was undoubtedly a result of the socioeconomic backwardness of the country, in which there were more people unemployed than members of the intelligentsia.

Although there were many progressive people among the intelligentsia who were sympathetic or even actively involved on the side of the social left, nevertheless, on the whole, the intelligentsia was rather inclined to isolate itself from the masses of the people, and identified itself with the literary and system of values propagated by the governing classes. This was not only a result of the familial traditions that burdened a large part of it, but chiefly a result of the fact that as a whole it remained in state posts, and aware that--in contrast to the workers--it had to sell not only its labor, but also its social individuality.

The intelligentsia was patriotically inclined, as was demonstrated on numerous occasions during the years of war, which were difficult ones for the people. On the basis of the not too remote experiences resulting from the personnel policy of the invaders' states, which regulated the access of the Polish intelligentsia to various offices and posts, especially the access of the

patriotically-inclined intelligentsia, it was more aware than other classes and strata that it could only develop and realize its aspirations in its own state. The class determining factors for the patriotism of part of the intelligentsia led, among other things, to rightwing and even extreme nationalistic political orientations.

### 3. The Development of the Intelligentsia in the Polish People's Republic

The war seriously decimated the already small intelligentsia in our society. In spite of the irrecoverable losses that it suffered as a result of wartime or extermination activities, numerous groups of its representatives remained abroad. According to J. Szczepanski's estimates, it is likely that in 1945 only about 100,000 people were left in Polish territory with a "prewar" higher or secondary school liberal arts education, and about 250,000 people with a secondary school professional education. Particularly low was the percentage of people with a higher education, in view of the fact that before the war about 85,000 people had received diplomas from higher schools, and a large number of them either perished or remained abroad.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to the above-mentioned changes in numbers, the war also caused certain qualitative changes in the intelligentsia. The downfall of the landowner-bourgeois state and its socioeconomic order, and the bankruptcy of its ideology, could not help but affect the intelligentsia. Under the influence of the above events, there was a radicalization in the sociopolitical attitudes of some of its representatives, and skepticism appeared with respect to the system of values previously in force, along with a feeling of frustration and loss.

Fundamental transformations in the intelligentsia, however, were brought about only through the emergence of the Polish People's Republic, which began to carry out a program of revolutionary transformations in the country's political, socioeconomic, and cultural life on a previously unknown scale. Obviously these revolutionary transformations could not take place without certain social and political tensions.

The overthrow of the exploiting classes, with which a considerable part of the intelligentsia was connected by more than sentiment, was the reason for its dislike for the new government. At the same time, the representatives of the new government also had a suspicious view of people belonging to a stratum that had served the previous regime or originated in the bourgeoisie or the landowner class. We wish to recall here that after the overthrow of the economic foundations of the landowner class and the bourgeoisie, people belonging to those classes did enter the intelligentsia, which also influenced its features to a certain extent.

Both as a result of the serious losses in numbers, as well as for political and socioeconomic reasons, the intelligentsia was not able to have the same position that it had earlier, for purely objective reasons; for its part, this resulted in a resistance to active participation in social life. Nevertheless, it could not fail to play a role in rebuilding the state, which was carrying out an ambitious program for the economic and cultural development of the

country--the top objective reasons. The revitalizing and development of the country would have been difficult, if not impossible, without educated people. There is thus nothing surprising in the fact that from the very beginning, the authorities in the Polish People's Republic aimed at winning over the intelligentsia, and its greatest political success was to gain the attraction of the "old" intelligentsia and making it into a constructive factor in building the new regime--as W. Markiewicz accurately observed. We must also recall, however, that as a result of erroneous views and evaluations regarding the intelligentsia, it also suffered certain injustices in the years 1949-1951.

Opposition of the founders of the policy regarding the "old" intelligentsia, the people's government, from the very beginning of its existence, encouraged the development of a new intelligentsia derived from the people, since from the very beginning of its existence it experienced the consequences of the creation of cadres with a higher education, and even with a secondary school education, which hindered both the process of reconstruction and the revolutionary transformations of the country. Thus, the slogan "not a secondary school diploma, but a sincere will" could not be realized everywhere with successful results, and therefore it was more and more often replaced by the slogan "a diploma and a sincere will."

The fairly widespread promotion of workers to various posts in the state, self-government, and economic administration, etc. resulted in the seizure of the state machinery by the new government, but it did not alleviate the shortage of professionals, however. Therefore, several actions were also undertaken with the purpose of training qualified cadres as quickly as possible. As a result of these actions, there was a development previously unknown in Poland of education at the higher levels, with great priority being given at the same time to young people coming from the classes that were originally socially neglected.

During the years 1945-1962, the higher schools graduated over 300,000 graduates. Of these, about 35 percent were from worker families, and 20 percent from peasant families. At that same time, about a million young people graduated from secondary schools of all types; half of these came from worker and peasant families.<sup>13</sup> We think that during the entire period between the wars, higher education only graduated about 65,000 people. On the other hand, in just a somewhat longer period, the first quarter-century of the Polish People's Republic's existence, over a half million people completed higher studies.

In addition to the large increase in the number of educated people, there were certain changes in the directions of education, resulting from the country's development needs. In 1953 only 11.4 percent of the students studying at that time were in technical studies, as compared to 38.3 percent in 1956. In 1953 14.1 percent of the students were in the law departments, as compared to 1.2 percent in 1956.<sup>14</sup> At the same time, there was a marked increase in the percentage of students studying economics, medicine, and agricultural sciences. This also resulted in the end of the domination of the intelligentsia by the

category of people with a humanistic education, and it was thus more differentiated with respect to education.

The transformations are illustrated, for example, by the following statistical data:

Students in branches of study	1945	1977	1981
economics	6,633	51,155	54,459
medicine	9,850	32,083	35,143
agriculture	3,765	34,327	40,548
Total no of students	55,998	491,030	453,652

We also think that while, for example, the number of scientific workers in 1970 was 39,563, in 1980 it grew to 70,380.

The development of the intelligentsia in the People's Republic of Poland is best portrayed by the data describing the changes in its individual constituent parts. In comparison with 1939, by the 30th anniversary of the Polish People's Republic, the creative intelligentsia, and thus its elite category, had grown sixfold; there had been a twofold increase in the number of specialists and managers with a higher education, and a nearly fourfold increase in the number of administrative and office workers.

In view of the fact that about 90 percent of the intelligentsia was educated during the existence of the Polish People's Republic, we can state that the intelligentsia has become a young stratum, both from the demographic and the social-professional standpoint.

What effects have resulted from these quantitative and qualitative changes in the individual constituent parts of the intelligentsia that we differentiated previously?

Let us begin with the most fundamental part of it, i.e. the creative intelligentsia. In spite of the fact that there has been a considerable influx into it of people from the worker and peasant classes--since it grew sixfold under the Polish People's Republic--it has preserved most of the traits of the prewar intelligentsia, claiming among other things to play the role of the guardian of tradition and of national culture, and also claiming spiritual leadership of the people. Although not too many of its representatives have become politically involved on the side of socialism, nevertheless, as a whole it has overcome its prejudices and become actively involved in the cause of increasing the scientific and cultural property of Poland, and thus participating in carrying out the program of the people's government in this area. Its relationship with the people's government, however, began to change in the mid-1960's, and then again in the mid-1970's. A detailed analysis is

undoubtedly required of the reasons why the economic, political, and moral events of the last few years brought about fairly fundamental changes in attitudes among the creative intelligentsia and resulted in having many representatives of this same part of the intelligentsia at a political forum again.

The number of specialists with a higher education also increased considerably under the Polish People's Republic. As J. Szczepanski wrote, This younger generation of experts has its own pronounced political and social features, and characteristic, practical, and sober attitudes toward life. He does not feel what it was for the revolutionary prewar intelligentsia, a battle-flag, but rather a set of directives for progress, which they assess from the point of view of their practical usefulness. This generation was not involved either in the conspiracy and underground battle, or in the full jaths and labor of the years of postwar reconstruction. It thus also thinks in terms of the more logical and substantive categories of its professional education; it has less understanding for ideological imponderabilities, and more for efficiency and effectiveness in action. It has a feeling that its work determines the development of the economy and the level of services, and it therefore also has a feeling of its objective social importance...."<sup>15</sup>

On the basis of the experiences of the last two years, it appears, however, that many of the views contained in the statement quoted on the subject of this category of the intelligentsia require certain revisions, since it has turned out that these "specialists" were neither so "deideologized" nor so rational in their political attitudes and conduct. What is worse, it could often be perceived that they were uncritical in assessing sociopolitical phenomena, and inclined to take their wishes for reality, and also inclined to be politically naive. Research on the determining factors in the transformations of the intellectual and political opinions, attitudes, and conduct of this category of the intelligentsia also seems necessary.

The next portion of the intelligentsia is comprised of the managers and organizers of social, economic, and political life, management personnel in the state administration, etc. This portion of the intelligentsia has undergone particularly fundamental changes.

Every official authority has to use the services of people who are loyal to it, and therefore every authority is also guided by political criteria, and not just professional ones, in selecting this type of personnel. The shortage of suitable personnel at the time of the appearance of the people's authority sometimes forced this authority to promote to management or organizational positions people who were not qualified from a professional standpoint. This often resulted in several negative consequences, socially or economically measurable or not--among other things, a decline in the prestige of many positions or professions.

Many of the people who were promoted made up for their professional shortcomings and graduate from higher schools, even with distinction. Unfortunately, there were also some who simply tried, sometimes "per fas et nefas," to adapt the diplomas of the past, thus lowering the prestige of both individual schools

and of the Polish intelligentsia, which they entered by virtue of the diplomas they received. All of the economic and moral losses caused by the widespread policy of promotions without taking into account professional competence were nevertheless the inevitable social costs entailed by any revolution.

In very general terms, the people constituting this portion of the intelligentsia are often highly developed socially and ideologically. They feel themselves to be more closely linked to the people's authority, to which they owe their careers. They prefer more conformist attitudes, both in the social and political spheres.

The most numerous portion of the intelligentsia is comprised of the administrative and office workers, or the lower officials in the state, party, union, etc. administrations, with an education at the secondary school level or even lower, or who have not completed a higher education. The nature of their work is often on the borderline between intellectual and physical work, and their economic status is below that of highly skilled workers. In spite of this, they nevertheless consider themselves members of the intelligentsia and strive to imitate the aspirations and lifestyle of the intelligentsia. Not having anything like the positions of specialists or the demand on the labor market enjoyed by highly skilled workers, they feel themselves to be very dependent, and this dependence influences their sociopolitical attitudes, which are manifested in opportunism.

In each of the above-mentioned portions of the intelligentsia, individual strata can undoubtedly be differentiated, among other things, from the standpoint of the degree of their social prestige and the size of their incomes. For example, within the limits of the creative intelligentsia, we can distinguish prestige or property strata in each professional category forming part of it. Thus, with respect to scholars, artists, writers, actors, or journalists, we can speak of the existence of various strata of this type. The same kinds of divisions can also be made in the other constituent parts of the intelligentsia.

In view of the quantitative and qualitative changes undergone by the intelligentsia during the existence of the Polish People's Republic, we must call attention to at least the three following transformations in it:

1. From a relatively weak intermediate stratum, both from the quantitative and the qualitative standpoint, it has been transformed into a powerful stratum existing next to the basic social classes, and is therefore sometimes called a "classlike stratum." In view of its size and quality, it plays a fundamental role in Polish society in the process of its transformations.
2. A portion called the "creative intelligentsia" has been formed within it, which is qualitatively strong and is encountered in the scientific and cultural world.
3. The so-called "old" and "new" ("people's") intelligentsia have been organically combined in the process of the social transformations, and today.

In principle, no major divisions within the intelligentsia on the grounds of social class are observed. On the other hand, differentiations occur within it with respect to education, profession, size of income, degree of prestige, etc.

4. Under the influence of socialist ideas and the general development of society, egalitarian attitudes can also be observed among the intelligentsia, as well as in society as a whole, although this is a fairly complex process, if we take into consideration, for example, the resistance aroused in a certain portion of the intelligentsia by the point preferences given on examinations in schools in favor of young people from worker and peasant families. Generally speaking, however, the rigid social barriers have been broken. The phenomenon observed in society and social isolation has also declined in comparison with the period between the wars.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See S. Rydlinski, "Warstwy społeczne" [Social Strata] in PRZEGLĄD SOCIALISTYCZNY, VIII, 1946, no 1, p 183, and also J. Szczepanski, "Inteligencja a pracownicy umysłowi" [The Intelligentsia and Intellectual Workers] in "Odmiany czasu terazniejszego" [Changes in the Present Time] (by this author), Warsaw 1973, p 58.
2. Compare T. Szczurkiewica: "Studia Socjologiczne" [Sociological Studies], Warsaw 1969, pp 331-332.
3. See J. Szczepanski: "Struktura inteligencji w Polsce" [Structure of the Intelligentsia in Poland] in "Odmiany czasu terazniejszego," op. cit., p 98. It should of course be pointed out that on the next page of the discussion cited, its author considers that "no one will deny that the intelligentsia, regardless of how it is defined, is not a homogeneous stratum..."

The definition given by the author to the term intelligentsia differs in meaning from the definition cited by Stanisław Widerszpił in an article published in this issue of NOWE DROGI, entitled "Inteligencja--struktury klasowe" [The Intelligentsia--Class-Determining Factors]. We note that in Marxist literature in Poland the term "social stratum" has been defined, among others, by O. Lange, S. Kozyr-Kowalski, and S. Widerszpił as well, as a collection of people functioning in the sphere of the superstructure, nonmaterial services, etc. who do not belong to the class structure in its narrow sense but are linked functionally (and genetically, etc.) to classes. In a different meaning, the term stratum is also used in Marxism to denote part of a class; Marx once spoke of class fragments (of the industrial, trade, financial, etc. bourgeoisie; this also applies to the constituent parts of the working class and other classes)--the editors.

4. See J. Szczepanski: "Zmiany w strukturze klasowej społeczeństwa polskiego" [Changes in the Class Structure of Polish Society] in "Przemiany społeczne"

- w Polsce Ludowej, Studia" [Social Changes in the Polish People's Republic, Studies], ed. A. Sarapata, Warsaw 1965, p 26.
6. See J. J. Wiatr: "Przemiany społeczne w Polsce" [Social Change in Poland], Warsaw 1976, pp 15-16.
  7. J. Chłopacki: "Społeczna genealogia inteligencji polskiej" [Social Genealogy of the Polish Intelligentsia], Warsaw 1946, p 22.
  8. Ibid., p 41.
  9. Ibid., p 34.
  10. See J. Zirnowski: "Struktura społeczna inteligencji w Polsce w latach 1918-1939" [Social Structure of the Intelligentsia in Poland in the Years 1918-1939], Warsaw 1964.
  11. See J. Szczepański: "Zmiany w strukturze klasowej społeczeństwa polskiego" [Changes in the Class Structure of Polish Society], op. cit., pp 29-30.
  12. W. Markiewicz: "Ewolucja społeczno-zawodowa pozycji inteligencji w Polsce Ludowej" [Evolution of the Social-Professional Position of the Intelligentsia in the Polish People's Republic], in "Przemiany struktury społecznej w ZSRR i Polsce" [Changes in the Social Structure in the USSR and Poland], collective work, Warsaw 1976, p 205.
  13. J. Szczepański, "Zmiany w strukturze klasowej społeczeństwa polskiego," op. cit., p 32.
  14. Ibid. See also S. Widerszpił: "Przeobrażenia struktury społecznej w Polsce Ludowej" [Transformations of the Social Structure in the Polish People's Republic], Warsaw 1973.
  15. See J. Szczepański, "Zmiany w strukturze klasowej społeczeństwa polskiego," op. cit., pp 34-35.

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BYDGOSZCZ PROVINCE PARTY ACTIVITIES NOTED

Bydgoszcz Improvement in Living Conditions

Gazeta Pomorska in Polish 14 Mar 83 p 4

Article by MAE/

Text. On 21 September of last year, we place on the front page of GAZETA POMORSKA, at the suggestion of the Executive Board of SW PZPR in Bydgoszcz, a timetable of activities, undertaken by the governor in the area of implementing in Bydgoszcz voivodship the proposals of the Politburo CC of the party from 13 September of last year, for improving the living conditions of the people. This document contained not only tasks but also defined the periods of their implementation. In later months the implementation of this program was evaluated several times by the Voivodship Defense Committee, as we informed you also on our front page.

The schedule included the tasks related to, among other things, assuring society of a supply of goods of basic importance for family life, improving the work of trade and transportation, an improvement of work conditions, preparation for winter, an improvement in the service to citizens by offices as well as improving the activity of state administration offices, a tightening of economical policy of the voivodship budget. The decree to which particular tasks were performed was checked each month by the chairman of the Voivodship Planning Commission and by the directors of the Control and Instruction Division and the Organizational-Legal Bureau and the cadre of the Voivodship Office through inspection made directly in the units implementing them.

What has been done so far? That is the point of the discussion of the report at the Voivodship Office in Bydgoszcz.

In order to assure society of a supply of basic goods for winter, 29,100 tons of edible potatoes were purchased (104 percent of the plan) while to the end of last year, 180,200 tons of edible grains were purchased (92.4 percent of the plan). Were crews were guaranteed hearty meals for which the Department

of Trade of Warsaw University allocated additional meat - in the fourth quarter of last year alone 204 tons. Orders of work enterprises for purchase of agricultural products and fruits, through which 622 tons of vegetables and 116 tons of fruit were sold, were completely met. Supply of these products was also realized, broadening the trade network. Moreover, in September and October in Bydgoszcz, Inowroclaw, and Chojnice, fairs were organized at which fruits and vegetables were sold for coupons.

To improve the organization of the trade work, a number of activities was undertaken. Particular attention was given to the work time of trade institutions, the realization of supplies and the correct management of and accounting for goods included in regulation. Each quarter, trade organizations and the Department of Trade of Warsaw analyzed contracts for delivery of goods included in operational programs. In the face of difficulties occurring in the area of full implementation of the contracts, the Voivodship Office repeatedly undertook interventions in the ministries and the trade organizations at individual suppliers. Despite this, the earlier guaranteed full amounts of such articles as footwear, underwear, and children's clothing were not attained.

Besides the goods included in the system of distribution, trade enterprises made additional purchases, independent of the contracted agreements. Last year these purchases reached a value of 4,337,000 zlotys. Because of the continuing shortages in the majority of goods, accepted as a general rule was distribution of supplies to particular cities and gminas - an application of a demographic indicator. However, this did not always meet with social approval because of the differing intensity of purchases in particular villages and cities. Thus, appropriate corrections were made all along so that the trade network was evenly supplied.

Having in mind the improvement of supply of food articles to the population of cities, the catering enterprises of "Spolem" were obliged to maximize production of ready-to-serve foods. Preferences in supplying lunch counters in work enterprises were also applied. By increasing allocations of meat for factory workers cafeterias, conditions were created for a higher production of pre-prepared food for their own lunch counters.

For improving market supply of dairy products the Voivodship Union of Dairy Cooperatives undertook a number of activities aimed at optimal management of purchased milk. A clear improvement occurred in the supplies of dairy products - aged cheeses and cottage cheese and cream.

Particular attention was also given to improving the quality of meat and meat products. The offices for sanitary and trade inspection conducted quality control checks both in the District Enterprise of the Meat Industry and in the hog markets of "Spolem", WZGS (Warsaw Catering Establishments), and "Rural Self-Help" and in retail stores. Nearly 400 samples of meat and sausages were taken; because of bacterial contamination, eight were questioned. One hundred fifteen mandates were given for not maintaining cleanliness and order in meat stores and four matters were directed to particular councils for

misdemeanors. Because of the poor sanitary condition, a decision was given on suspending trade activity in five institutions. The effect of these actions was a definite improvement in the sanitary situation in the meat stores.

The next problem was the improvement of work conditions. In accordance with the tasks defined by the schedule, the Department of Employment and Social Affairs of Warsaw University, in the period from October to December of last year, conducted 98 checks in selected work enterprises, among others, in the area of the activity of plant social commissions, clothing and work shoe supply to crews, cleaning products, and the state of work safety and hygiene. It was found that in all work enterprises included in the inspection, collective supply of fruits and vegetables was organized for workers, and agricultural products were delivered directly to homes. In the last quarter of last year, social commissions undertook activities aimed at a wider utilization of plant social funds. Assistance was given to families which were in a difficult material situation, for example, through cancellation of part of the payment for agricultural goods, free delivery of fuel, and monetary aid.

In general, supply of personal hygiene products and work clothes is satisfactory, with the exception of shoes. Quality is a serious problem. In connection with numerous signals on this topic from work enterprises, the Bydgoszcz governor on 24 December of last year brought to the minister of chemical and light industry a proposal for the quickest possible initiation of activities aimed at improving the quality of clothing and work shoes.

In the group of problems related to improving working and living conditions of the people were also matters related to increasing areas of small private garden plots. To the end of last year, private plot owners were given 65 ha of land and the remaining part, that is 60.1 ha, will be farmed this year. This will not meet the complete needs, however, because toward the end of last year, 11,000 people in Bydgoszcz Voivodship were waiting for plots.

Problems connected with the utilization of space left by previous organizations and units in which employment decreased, were also considered. As a result of a survey of local space, a total area of 5,400 square meters was assigned to health service, 2,370 square meters for education, 2,170 square meters for general social purposes, and 714 square meters for housing. Also, part of the abandoned housing was utilized. Last year, in Bydgoszcz Voivodship as a result of trips abroad, 112 persons left housing. From this number, an actual 61 spaces were obtained and allocated to other users. Some space was assigned to persons already living in it and with other space, steps are being carried out for clarification.

Transportation. The Voivodship Transportation Enterprise has adapted the functioning of mass transit in Bydgoszcz to transportation needs on free Saturdays, strengthening the fleet of 44 tramways and 58 busses. Adjustments of the frequency and number of routes were also made.

For improving the conditions of transporting children and youth to schools, 21 busses and "Osinobusses" were purchased. The number of children transported to schools amounts to about 19,500 at present and for three years the number has been decreasing annually by about 300-350 persons as a result of the reactivation in the last years of branch points.

Checks of the preparation of the rolling stock and technical supply base of PKS (Polish Motor Transport) were made. They showed proper implementation of activities having as a goal the uninterrupted functioning of bus transportation and the safety of transports.

An important complex of tasks mentioned in the schedule was the improvement of service to citizens by offices. Fifteen checks were made of offices in the gminas and cities; 6 complex inspections initiated by the WKO were made as well as 13 inspections checking the carrying out of recommendations made by the governor after the checks. The subject of the checks was, among other things, the implementation of tasks from earlier checks resulting from socio-economic plans, the adequacy of service to the people and the fight against waste and excesses. Also controlled were the voivodship coordinating units like WZGS /Warsaw Catering Establishments/, "Rural Self-Help", WZRKiOR /Voivodship Union of Agricultural Circles and Agricultural Organizations/, PZU /Polish National Insurance/, PKS /Polish Motor Transport/, ZUS /Social Insurance Institution/, mainly in the area of prompt and proper recognition and handling of complaints and suggestions, appeals and individual matters of citizens.

Based on the materials of the conducted reviews, the Bydgoszcz governor obliged the management of the voivodship units to immediately eliminate offenses and improprieties found. The system of educational courses for employees of basic level offices was developed, especially the newly hired. In Bydgoszcz, the Municipal Bureau of Space Planning was established. The system of educational seminars for leaders in the area of economic and administrative issues was expanded.

In order to enable people to take care of individual matters in the afternoon hours, from 4 January of this year the working hours in the offices of the local administration was extended to 4 p.m. on Tuesdays and Thursdays, and on Saturdays to 2 p.m. In handling complaints and suggestions in city, city-gmina, and gmina offices, the principle of periodic participation of directors of departments of Warsaw University and administrators of gminas was introduced.

In the area of implementation of tasks related to budget outlays, giving particular attention to the phenomena which create the possibility of committing excesses and offenses was considered as a basic principle. Control of the legality, honesty and accuracy of the operations connected with the expenditure of budget means was tightened. As a result of the auditing check, people guilty of making unjustified or ungrounded expenditures were assessed 362,000 zlotys; the cases of 16 persons were directed to commissions ruling on violation of budget discipline; two matters were given to offices established for prosecution of economic crimes.

## Bydgoszcz Province Field Trip Meeting

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 18 Mar 83 pp 1,2

/Article by BUR: "Did Reform Stop at the Gates of the Plant?"/

/Text/ In the Organika-Zachem Chemical Plants in Bydgoszcz yesterday there was held a field-trip meeting of KW and KM /Voivodship Committee and Town Committee/ PZPR with the participation of the administrative authorities of the voivodship and city, representatives of the army and the police, and the Plant Committee PZPR. This meeting was preceded by meetings of representatives of the authorities with workers of many departments, by direct conversations at work positions, and by meetings of OOP.

With the employees of the dye plant, where work conditions are among the most difficult in Zachem, First Secretary of KW Henryk Bednarski, Governor Bogdan Krolewski, Voivodship Commissioner Gen Zdzislaw Ostrowski, and KM Secretary Ryszard Grabarczyk conversed directly at work positions. In these discussions, the workers critically evaluated the state of reform in the enterprise, they gave attention to the difficult work conditions and the lack of clothing and protective footwear, and they also brought up the problems of living conditions and market conditions. The party meeting in this plant was a continuation of these conversations. "We at the bottom feel", three OOP's of this plant evaluated, "that reform still has not reached the work positions, there still is no incentive wage system, and there is no evaluation of work. The administration of the enterprise to a limited degree addresses more important decisions."

Wieslaw Walkiewicz noted that the state should devote at least as much attention to the introduction of an incentive wage system as it devotes to the implementation of social matters of groups of nonworking people. Possibilities for dishonest enrichment of certain groups of people are still too great, and the costs of the crisis are unfairly distributed. It is not enough to expose speculators and swindlers, but it is also necessary to show what the punishments for these offenses are. Waclaw Dranczuk noted that it is necessary to expose and punish not only speculators but those who supply them with goods, often from state plants, from the trade industry. There is in our industry a high material intensity and energy intensity, but a wage system inducing savings at every work position is not being sought.

"We complain about the lack of employees, that they are leaving us", said Wieslaw Kasak, "but not only with wages can they be attracted but also by concern for social matters. In the dye plant, for example, why not think about nutritional meals?" Czeslaw Andrzejewski asked, among other things, what the enterprise gains from the school near the plant because no graduates are evident at the work positions.

Similar problems were raised at meetings in different divisions such as the experimental division where, among others, First Secretary Ignacy Iwancz and

vice-governor Edmund Molik spoke, at the milling and market production divisions where, among others, KW Secretary Leonard Maciejewski spoke, in the synthetics division where there was, among others, KW Secretary Ryszard Bardoszek and Mayor Andrzej Barkowski, at the meeting of employees of the administration with Vice-Governor Zygmunt Tylicki and the chairman of WKKP, Bogdan Nalezyty, at an almost 4-hour meeting of OOP of the prefabricating plant which was conducted with the participation of KW Secretary Zenon Zmudzinski.

It is not good that at several divisions, production capacities are only 50 percent utilized. Management must be concerned with attracting employees and rationalizing employment. The signal for management should be the universal complaints about the lack of incentives and of work evaluation, about the restrictions of the extent of addressing problems, about the lack of information on plant matters. More direct contacts of the plant administration with division crews are needed. It is necessary that trade unions join in solving many concrete social problems.

Much attention was given to party matters and the role of members of the plant party organization in the life of the plant. It was emphasized that the atmosphere in Zachem has considerably improved though there are still some other active people adversely oriented to the policies of the authorities. There are fewer and fewer indifferent people; more and more involvement is being seen. There is also a large role being played by party members in shaping this atmosphere. An urgent task at present is the development of mechanisms of innerplant democracy, and thus, a strengthening of trade unions and worker self-governments. First Secretary KW Henryk Bednarski also stressed this.

Representatives of the authorities, answering questions, indicated how the problems indicated by the employees of Zachem are going to be solved. Director of Zachem, Henryk Slachciak, did not agree with all the charges. He emphasized, among other things, that the principles of economic reform have been disseminated in the enterprise to the most definite extent possible, that it is an economic game which we are just learning and its rules need not currently be known at every work position. The point is, he said, that the reform has not fulfilled expectations because they could not be fulfilled and that is why it is evaluated in this way and not another.

#### Bydgoszcz Executive Board Assessment

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 25 Mar 83 p 2

/Article by BUR/

/Text/ The Executive Board of the Voivodship Committee of PZPR in Bydgoszcz met yesterday at a field trip meeting in Czersk. The subject of the meeting was the evaluation of political development in the 1982/1983 school year, and an evaluation of the implementation of the regulations of the executive board in this area from August of last year.

The meeting of the Executive Board KW was preceded yesterday by the participation of its members in POP meetings with executive boards and activists of POM's in Czersk and Tuchola. The meetings, devoted to the problems of political development, took place in the Czersk Furniture Factory, in the Gmina Comprehensive School in Czersk, at the State Farm, and in the Tuchola POM /State Center of Agricultural Machines/, in the Tuchola Disabled Persons' Cooperative in Tuchola, in the Rownosc /Equality/ Cooperative of Handicapped Persons' Work, and in the Gmina Cooperative in Czersak. There were also meetings of the members of the Executive Board KW with the program councils of the centers of ideological-educational work in Czersk and in Tuchola. First Secretary KW Henryk Bednarski took part in the expanded meeting of the Executive Board of the Gmina Committee PZPR in Gostycyn.

The Executive Board KW estimated that since the second half of last year clear progress was made in the educational work of the party, though it is still quite varied in its intensity. In a considerable number of POP's, political education was begun with considerable delay and there are still organizations which have not begun this. Educational work has still not been started in Rogowo Gmina. It has been done to an unsatisfactory degree in organizations of the following cities and gminas: Janowiec, Sepelno, Brusy, Gasawa, Kruszwica, Czersk, Trzemeszno. POP's which have not begun education or which have conducted one educational meeting are required to offer 2-3 subjects this school year.

The educational aspect of our work, the Executive Board KW stressed, must occupy an appropriate place. There is - as drawn from party meetings and conversations - a great need on the part of party members both for current political and economic information, and for clarifying among other things, the mechanisms of economic reform, the international situation and its influence on the affairs of our country, state-church relations, ideological problems of our politics. In the POP, it is acknowledged that the proposed subjects of education are interesting, and enrich knowledge and discussion of the party member.

The situation in the education of novice members of the party is unsatisfactory. It was undertaken independently in almost 18 cities and gminas, and from 8 other gminas young comrades are being educated in Nakiel and Sepelno. Such education has not been undertaken in Bydgoszcz. Meanwhile, young party members must be acquainted with the basics of marxist theory. The situation with the education of PZPR candidates does not look any better. Of 1059 candidates, only 122 take part in course work. The situation is worse in Bydgoszcz. POP's which are concerned about directing candidates and young comrades toward education are also responsible for this.

The Executive Board of KW stressed the need for greater concern for the implementation of the accepted programs of political development.

Next the Executive Board accepted the political organizational assumptions of the celebration of Labor Day in Bydgoszcz Voivodship and approved the materials

for the plenary session of the Voivodship Committee PZPR, dedicated to the problems of law, order, and public safety in the voivodship.

Bydgoszcz Pre-Plenum Meeting on Offenders

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 25 Mar p 9

/Article by JB: "The Fight Against Economic Crime and Waste"

/Text/ The next plenum of the Voivodship Committee PZPR in Bydgoszcz will be devoted to an evaluation of the state of law, order, and public safety in our voivodship. In connection with this, at the Regional Center for Party Work in Inowroclaw, there was recently held a council devoted to an evaluation of these matters in units of the socialized economy of the city and region of Inowroclaw in 1982.

Taking part in the conference which was led by director of ROPP /Regional Center for Party Work/ Witold Kaczmarek were, among others, member of CC PZPR Roman Golinski, assistant voivodship prosecutor Janusz Pejka, first secretaries of the local party echelons, ROPP activists, representatives of the Regional Court, the district prosecutor's office as well as the municipal headquarters of the citizens' police and the regional command of the fire department.

Information introducing discussion was presented by district prosecutor Jerzy Kmiec. It showed that last year the district prosecutor's office completed 1978 legal actions directing to the district court 525 indictments concerning 691 persons. Concerning another 156 persons, legal action was conditionally dismissed, placing on them the requirement of monetary compensation for social purposes in the amount of 1,089,000 zlotys. From perpetrators of crime, assets worth a total of over 3 million zlotys were secured.

In the period preceding the conference, the prosecutors, together with functionaries of the citizens' police and fire department, conducted visitations to selected work plants in the region. The results of these visitations were discussed at the party-service councils in KMG /Municipal Headquarters/ and KG /Main Headquarters/ PZPR. While in a number of plants, proper protection of property was found, in other a glaring lack of care was seen in the area of conservation of machines and agricultural equipment, storage of synthetic fertilizers and grains and fire prevention. The decision of the district prosecutor instituted appropriate preparatory action for lack of concern for state property against the directors of the agricultural plants in Kaczkow and Wegierce, MBM in Gaski and RSP in Rakow / ? text illegible/, Latkow, and Jankow.

Both in the presentation of the district prosecutor and in the discussion, the phenomenon of the postponing of legal trials was critically evaluated. In 1982, in the district court, 34 percent of the cases were postponed. Discussed

was the need to intensify the fight against economic crime, among others, by way of increasing economic and legal punishment. The need to evaluate the functioning of the system of internal control in plants was also given attention. It was emphasized that where the plant directors show appropriate care for state property, there is no threat to order and security.

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ZSL OFFICIAL VIEWS PRON ACTIVITY, PROSPECTS

Warsaw KURIER POLSKI in Polish 24 Mar 83 p 4

[Interview with Jerzy Grzybczak, secretary of the United Peasant Party Supreme Committee, by Krzysztof Lewandowski: "We Don't Want a Window-Dressing Movement"]

[Text] Jerzy Grzybczak, member of the Presidium, secretary of the United Peasant Party Supreme Committee, is one of the leading activists of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]. He was among its organizers from the first moments of the movement's existence and participated in the creation of its program documents. We talked with Jerzy Grzybczak, vice-president of the Provisional National Council of PRON on the subject of PRON's present state of affairs and its prospects for action.

[Question] Mr. Chariman, the Patriotic Movement of National Rebirth has its most difficult period behind it, the period of organization. What is happening in PRON's elements and echelons?

[Answer] Discussions over the movement's program are going on in the country, and delegates are being sent to voivodship congresses. Discussions are also taking place at meetings and conferences in primary elements of the Citizens' Committees of National Rebirth and in PRON committees. Voivodship congresses have been prepared and the majority of them will be held early in April when delegates will be selected for PRON's Congress, set for 7 to 9 May of this year.

During this present campaign we want to achieve two goals: the working out of documents defining the character of our movement and its place in our country's political system; evaluating the development of the movement and its place in professional and social environments.

As is well known the debate embraces the movement's declaration and its legal foundations. Authenticating the signatures of PRON's documents of 20 July 1982 was the point of departure in working out the Declaration. However, the prepared Declaration goes farther and is the result of work by the problems commissions and the National Council itself. The draft takes into account our society's diverse sociopolitical activities and is the result of a consensus embracing party attitudes, marxist and nonmarxist political parties, believers and nonbelievers.

The fact that it was possible to create such a sounding board for the movement is an achievement and proves that on the basis of PRON, given its diverse make-up, one can discuss literally all the vital social problems.

[Question] May one ask about the types of problems being discussed?

[Answer] Of course. The discussion going on in our movement relates to all of the problems in the life of our country: the development of self-government, relationships of the partnership between authorities and citizens, and dialogue as a form of solving conflicts that are still occurring.

In this discussion, not only the attitudes toward PRON but the directions of socialist renewal implemented in Poland since 1980 should be crystallized. Thus, PRON needs to be seen not just as an institution which will be a kind of substitute for existing institutions, but as an element in the process of democratizing relationships in the state. This significantly increases the role of political parties.

[Question] How should one then see the mutual relationships of PRON and the political parties operating in our country?

[Answer] As I have already said, the role of the party in the workings of PRON is particularly important. What is happening in political parties is not irrelevant to PRON, nor to the broadest social strata. The political line worked out at the 9th Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR, the 12th SD Congress and our 8th ZSL Congress is directed at instituting socialist renewal. Interparty cooperation implemented after 1980 is based on new foundations and insists on, among other things, strengthening the role of the Sejm and national councils, as well as self-governing units in towns and villages.

Processes of reform occurring in our country are based--something which should be stressed--on legal regulations. After all, you know, in the period of putting martial law into effect, the Sejm accepted 57 new laws, many of which were of particular importance. And this is only the beginning of the journey, only the beginning of the institution of these normative acts; the development of democratic mechanisms will undoubtedly be a long process.

[Question] The direction of the aims and changes that has been introduced, as outlined by the authorities, is, however, already apparent...

[Answer] Undoubtedly so. In these circumstances, PRON is going to be the place where all the different social forces can communicate with one another, and this should enable Polish citizens not aligned with any party who do not have any other way of voicing their opinions to express themselves. PRON is also important as a place where various opinions can be brought forth. It can also serve as the intermediary for our planned center for social research.

PRON creates and will create wide-ranging opportunities for social action and the development of activity and self-government in towns and villages. This is important for restoring citizens' subjectivity, because if this does not function properly, we will be simply witnesses to signals being transmitted over hill and dale. We are faced with a number of problems: the task of

creating better social relationships; working with youth and eliminating conflicts between generations, in the family, and among neighbors, etc.

[Question] And what about the wide-ranging complex of problems dealing with education and morals?

[Answer] Yes. Educational and moral problems head the list here. Socially useful actions benefitting environmental protection and building social order and harmony are also important. In the work we are presently carrying out, we would like to know whether the thoughts and ideas which are shaping this movement are really in agreement with our society's notions about it. Our maxim is strengthen the citizens' movement of national rebirth by concrete achievements and data.

[Question] We are actually witnessing (and the congress will certainly confirm these tendencies) a development in the internal structures and scope of the movement...

[Answer] Yes. Our movement in order to fulfill its role must have a broader presence and rebuild its structures. Today we have the National Council [Rada Krajowa] and voivodship councils, whereas we are poorly represented in the gminas [parishes]. The problem is the small number of young people in the movement, yet without them a movement that wants to solve current problems as well as determine its country's future cannot exist. In the first period before our work began there were elders who were conscious of existing dangers. Today the idea of PRON must become the domain of the young generation. The PZPR, the ZSL and the SD, along with three Catholic organizations, are the foundation of the movement. We have accepted the principle that political parties and social organizations influence the movement not through directives but through argumentation and work of the people.

Our movement gains support from organizations which have given it their approval. There are over 60 of these organizations--youth, social, cooperative and scientific. And their support is exceptionally valuable for generating the movement. We have rejected the principle of collective membership because we do not want a window-dressing kind of a movement. The support and approval of a given organization indicates an appeal to its members to work in PRON elements. And we are very dependent upon this, especially in the work at the lower levels where citizens' problems are being solved.

[Question] Then cooperation here is still in the formative stages?

[Answer] Yes. We have been meeting with the representatives of these organizations and discussing what we hold in common in our work, and what is causing difficulties, such things as: instituting economic reform and matters dealing with self-governing units, culture, etc. We wish that the partners of this cooperative effort to come out stronger and better for having experienced these kinds of feedbacks.

[Question] How is PRON's work proceeding in the villages?

[Answer] We, the members of ZSL, have always been advocates of the idea of understanding and rebirth. In the difficult year of 1981, the heads of ZSL appealed for peace and conciliation. Here we are guided by the old principle of the people's movement which is that recognition of matters of state takes precedence, for as the great leader of the people's movement Wincenty Witos has said: "Where matters of state begin, there regional interests must end."

After martial law was introduced, ZSL members were the cocreators of the movement of national salvation and rebirth and various forms of activities attending primarily to the problem of feeding the nation, which we regard as our number one duty. This has served to smooth out conflicts between town and village that have threatened the worker-peasant alliance as a governmental base.

Within the framework of a joint agricultural policy with the PZPR, we are conducting activities which serve to create a better rural production climate, better organizational cooperation with the party that was expressed in the proceedings of the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee of the PZPR and Supreme Committee of the ZSL. Within the framework of day-to-day business contacts with the PZPR and the SD, we are trying to solve problems of fundamental importance with regard to reform in our country, a matter which is rather generally known.

The principles of self-government, mutual cooperation between the authorities and society, and the idea of solving on-going problems in peace and harmony are all close to us. We especially wish to carry over into PRON those priceless values which result from taking into full account the peasant's relationship to the soil and his daily bread. We view this as our contribution to the movement's ideology. We feel responsible for PRON's development in rural areas and the success of its ideas and work already undertaken.

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CSO: 2600/675

PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Krosno, Sanok PRON Congresses

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 30 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by b. and z.d.: "Discussion Should Produce an Agreement: Town Congresses of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth in Krosno and Sanok, Meeting of the Activitist in Sandomierz"]

[Text] Town congresses of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth cells in the largest centers of Podkarpacie--in Krosno and Sanok--have completed the campaign of pre-Congress discussion of the basic documents of this movement in this voivodship. The above discussion covered both general issues of programmatic-ideological significance as well as problems affecting working people, their everyday worries and troubles.

The First Congress of the Provisional Municipal Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth in Krosno was attended by 150 delegates, representing PRON circles from 32 different communities. Participating in the debates were also representatives of the authorities: chairman of the WTR [Provisional Voivodship Council] of PRON in Krosno, Jozef Kusiba, secretary of the Voivodship Committee of PZPR, Ryszard Staczek, secretary of the Voivodship Committee of SD, Jan Trzemzalski, first secretary of the Municipal Committee of PZPR, Janusz Bek, and mayor of the town of Krosno, Zbigniew Piotrowski.

Both, the report of the chairman of the Krosno Provinzial Municipal Council of PRON, Zygmunt Rygiel, as well as the discussion stressed that the basic principle of the process of national rebirth, that should be conceived as a duty toward the nation and state, is an urge for an accord between the principla social forces and groups, that recognize state's political system and its socialist character.

The delegates have elected the chairman, 80-member Municipal Council and its 120-member Presidium of PRON. In addition, 10 delegates to the Voivodship Congress and 1 representative of Krosno to the PRON National Congress were elected. The duties of the chairman of the Krosno Municipal Council of

PRON were entrusted to Zygmunt Rygiel, he has been also elected a delegate to the Congress.

PRON regional meeting at the Sandomierz town hall was attended by 70 delegates representing PRON elements from Annopol, Dwikozy, Klimontow, Po-przywnica, Loniow, Obrazow, Samborzec, Wilczyce, Sawichost, and Sandomierz.

The discussion has touched upon many topics. PRON activists have raised problems that the town and country people struggle with daily. The main topics of the discussion were those related to the economy, implementing the economic reform and its effects on the population that result from a quite common faulty interpretation of its regulations. The discussants were stating that PRON should become a platform facilitating an understanding between the producers and consumers, workers and farmers, aising above the interests of the particular enterprises. Our concern should be directed toward a just distribution of the consequences of the crisis among all the social strata and professional groups. It has been pointed out that PRON can more effectively re-establish much weakened ties between the towns and the villages. Honest presentation, mutual understanding and respect of the interests of farmers and workers should serve this cause. Such discussions should produce the awareness of social aims and mutual dependencies. Problems of culture, supplies [of goods] and cleaning were also raised. Much has been said about the phenomena of negligence of duties by individuals holding managerial positions.

Another topic under discussion dealt with the matters pertaining to the social and political training of the movement. It was pointed out that PRON cannot be just a facade created for the purpose of settling one's occasional aims. Some corrections in the drafts of the fundamental documents were suggested, among others, it was pointed out that PRON elements active in workplaces should have their prerogatives widened. Many of the discussed problems of the economy were elucidated, the governor, Cal Boguslaw Jazwiec, who has been present at the meeting. He has also informed those attending the meeting about the economic results in comparison with the national economy as a whole.

At the meeting, delegates to the Voivodship Congress of PRON as well as to the National Congress were elected. Mandates of delegates to the Voivodship Congress were received by 38 activists recommended by their PRON elements. Tadeusz Zaroda from Klimontow has been elected a delegate to the National Congress, while Paweł Trzaska from Sawichost has been recommended to run for a delegate to the PRON National Congress at the Voivodship Congress.

Previously, at the meetings of the PRON Municipal Committee in Sandomierz, Jozef Chmielnicki has been elected a delegate to the National Congress.

The debates, conducted under the chairmanship of the chairman of the PRON Municipal Committee, Jozef Chmielnicki, were also attended by the chairman of the TWRK [Provisional Coordinating Provincial Council] of PRON, member of Sejm Jan Kaczorowski, as well as by the secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee, Stanisław Pawlik.

### Starachowice PRON Activities

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 30 Mar 83 pp 1, 7

[Article by ber: "With People And for People: On PRON Activities in Starachowice"]

[Text] The activity of the PRON Provisional City Council in Starachowice every day reaches ever wider segments of people. Petitions to joint the patriotic movement are coming continuously from various organizations and associations as well as from private individuals. Such a decision, among others, has been made recently by the Association of Lay Catholics "PAX," a local branch of PTTK, and Union of the Former Professional Soldiers affiliated to the WKU. Representatives who will be participating in the work of the provisional council were also selected, while the council's membership has been increased to 22.

Chairman of the Presidium of the PRON Provisional City Council, Włodzimierz Kabala, MA, comments, "Many social and economic problems which require a solution that is in agreement with the interest of society have accumulated. Just to mention housing situation of the hostel for the wards of the State Educational Facility. A year ago, a Military Operational Group has drawn our attention to this forgotten problem. During a comprehensive inspection and reinspection of the town that has been conducted on the orders of WKO a date of the final solution of this problem has been set until the end of December. March is almost over, and...nothing has happened. FSC does not want, at least so far, to offer for this purpose building that used to house a kindergarten. Board of Education and Upbringing in Kielce, town authorities, as well as a clear majority of inhabitants are of a different opinion. We also solidarize with this stand, consequently we have asked the factory to change its decision."

"Second topic of considerable social significance is the question of expanding the Starachowice Municipal Hospital. For almost a year, after the stumps have been cleared, the work on underground installations has been in progress. Among other things, access roads, segments of sanitary and rain drains are being built; electrical installations and water pipes are also places. However, what worries us very much, until now no general contractor has been selected for this project. We will intervene with the Kielce governor.

"Toward the end of this year, a fact probably unknown by many inhabitants of Starachowice, the construction of an artificial reservoir on the [river] Lubianka will be completed and a process of filling it with water will start. It will serve two purposes: as a water collector and sports and recreational center. We intend to clean and develop the shores through voluntary work, particularly through the participation of youth, who will be the primary user of these facilities.

"At the joint meeting with the MRN Presidium we have discussed the status of social welfare in the town, with particular attention given to the situation

of elderly people, handicapped, and chronically ill. Representatives of ZOZ, PKPS, PCK, and TPD have also participated in the discussion. We have drawn their attention to the need of expanding of the welfare work and joint coordination of such efforts. Apart from this, presidium members inform the population about the work of PRON at the meetings of particular communities.

"We have issued a declaration addressed to the town's community, in which we have defined tasks and purposes of the patriotic movement and invited it to participate in its endeavors. Since they will, after all, serve the population, all of us. There are already first positive responses. More and more inhabitants of Starachowice indicate their readiness to join PRON. I can frankly state that we cannot complain about a lack of work. This proves most convincingly how much there is still to be done.

"What about the most immediate plans? Meetings at the particular communities with the delegates to the national congress of PRON will be conducted soon. Among other things, they will serve as opinion polls, they should facilitate an exchange of views, submitting of motions, postulates and proposals. At the end of April there will be a conference which will elect a City Council of PRON."

#### Assessment of Activities in PRON

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 30 Mar 83 p 3

[Article by Halina Lokajowa: "My Place in PRON--We Do not Ask for Too Much..."]

[Text] For several months now a discussion has been conducted among the PRON activists on the nature of this movement and its place in the political system of our state. What is PRON supposed to be, how should it function in order to satisfy population's expectations and hopes? Many problems that until now were unclear are answered by the movement's draft programmatic declaration. The final text of this document will be approved by the May Congress.

"Our movement is an open one," we read in the declaration. "We want to gain the support for our ideas of all citizen and organizations--those who desire national rebirth and mutual understanding.

"We are an opinionmaking body, cooperating in the capacity of a partner with the movement authorities, parties, self-governments, and social organizations. In this respect, our movement functions as an organized public opinion.

"Our role is not restricted to registering people's views. We are aiming at participating in shaping them. We want to influence views of those who govern as well as people's views.

"We want the movement to inspire population's initiatives, satisfy its ambitions and fulfil the Poles' needs. We are aware of the wide range of these needs--starting from democratization and extending to basic organic activity which our country needs so much.

"We intend to contribute to an effective participation of citizen in the public life on the various levels of administration: central, regional, municipal, village or a workplace."

And one more important matter that is clearly defined in the declaration: "PRON is founded and functions as a permanent asset of the socialist political system in Poland."

In spite of the fact that the action program includes many current tasks which will cease to exist after their implementing, PRON is not a purely crisis movement, it has been built into our social and political reality as its permanent part. As the concluding part of the declaration states, it contains "Many symbolic 'blank spots' that will be filled with a creative and concrete substance in the process of the pre-Congress discussion."

We are asking the PRON activists from Lezajsk, where this movement has grown out of the very active OKON, to comment on issues derived from the declaration.

#### To Teach Duties

Zofia Czekierda, a lawyer, an activist of the League of Polish Women, former chairwoman of OKON, states:

"What I am afraid of most is the possibility that this movement amy be formalized, since consequently our activity will be just a whitewash. We will unintentionally join cliques or coteries, there will be no more openness and no chance to replace people. Such a danger exists particularly in small towns where cliques of this kind have always existed. In this respect Lezajsk has very bad reputation, it being said even that there is no other such town in the whole voivodship where corruption thrives in so favorable a microclimate.

"We have to defend ourselves not to allow the movement to be pushed onto wrong tracks. We have to win over for PRON more new people who are not burdened with the past errors, who are trustworthy and authentically committed. At the moment, to be frank, there is a shortage of such people not only in our community. There are cases of movement's officials who used to thwart just causes in the past. After all, people remember everything. Building movement's authority is not an easy task under such conditions. Young retirees arouse also public indignation. In a word, the movement needs fresh blood.

"Each social activist has to be mentally conditioned, expect to find out that social activity is a bitter pill, because one can easily provoke an antagonistic attitude by exposing truth or pointingout mistakes. I hope, though, that eventually we will develop a proper culture of activity. We will learn how to criticize. Now, we still not always know how to do this..."

"How do I understand movement's right to control the administration? The administrative body should feel the obligation to respond to the various

problems in the spirit of social responsibility. Otherwise it will be exposed to criticism. I think that we should be allowed to submit our postulates to the next level. Naturally, each case has two sides. The administration's representative, head [of local government], should make it clear in each case. Because our movement does not intend to protect troublemakers. The general principle is: no behind-the-scene deals, everything should be done in the open. It should not be allowed either that PRON activists would attend to their private businesses.

"As a lawyer I can see many gaps in our regulations that have to be filled, and I can see a chance for our movement here. On the other hand, lawyers should feel responsible for the popularization of the knowledge of everyday law, particularly of the awareness of one's duties. I know from my experience the situation as concerns the work law, to give an example. Even employment services are better familiar with rights than with duties, to say nothing about employees. Life practice proves ever so often that spouses do not know their mutual duties and responsibility toward their family. The grown-ups do not know what are their responsibilities toward their parents. Young parents, particularly fathers, keep forgetting about their duties toward their children, etc.

"I am of the opinion that legal awareness instruction should start already in the elementary schools. While a high school graduate should have a good knowledge of his duties as a citizen, a spouse, and an employee. We are unnecessarily ashamed of many topics. For instance, young people decide to live together, the result of which is pregnancy. Very often he presses her to have an abortion, and when the unwanted baby is born he explains: it does not concern me, because I told her to get rid of it... I do not have to argue about the consequences of the ignorance of family responsibilities, about mental scares that affect even next generation. I think that lawyers among the PRON activists will come up with an initiative aiming at eradicating these glaring negligencies."

#### Youth Is Active...

Elzbieta Lichorowiec, chairman of the Municipal Organization [ZM] of ZSMP, speaks out: "...it is eager, I myself think so. Last year 127 individuals were admitted to ZSMP: 67 in secondary schools, the remaining individuals have augmented youth organizations in the workplaces. It is true that so far there are few young people in the movement. But we have to understand the reasons for this state of things. Yough expects truthful activities, authenticity of views, authentic people. I am not sure if activists who demonstrate that their thinking follows old stereotypes can be trustworthy. Just wait until they impose their ways, errors and distortions will happen again. This is what young people are afraid of.

Nothing convinces better than sensible and authentic activity. It can be utilized to give a chance to the young people to prove themselves, their initiatives can be realized.

For instance, in our practice, on the initiative of ZSMP the problem of a cultural facility for young people has been raised by OKON. The problem lies in a better utilization of the local house of culture--to organize a club there, offer the young people an interesting program of activities, make it possible to organize events, meetings, and discussions. In actuality, the house of culture is mostly closed in the evenings and on free Saturdays, at the time when it should be a hub of activity. There are some programs and activities but only for children. It looks like somebody is afraid of youth...

We are haggling over this problem for more than a year now and we cannot make a breakthrough. It is hard to believe, but there is no way an agreement with the management of the house of culture can be reached. I am thinking about a concrete meeting which will close with specific motions and decisions.

Second problem that youth is interested in are lodgings. It is a difficult and complicated problem, by no means because youth has excessive demands and is consumption oriented, but because many individuals became used to saying yes and making promises. This, unfortunately suffices for a short time only. Afterwards, the same problem resurfaces in a more aggravated form. The problem of allotting lots for buildings of a youth cooperative has been the subject of along struggle. Only the third version constituted a binding answer and one that has satisfied us. Now we only need a formal change in the zoning plan of Lezajsk. It is an area designated for multifamily buildings. Two-story buildings (higher than this are not permitted there) will be erected there for some 200 cooperative members. Naturally, chances for obtaining keys to the dreamed of "M" are first of all on the side of those who live in the worst conditions and those who will be willing to work and at the same time are active members of the organization.

We will not permit this time to be cheated as it happened several years ago, when some condidates for an apartment in 1977 had to wait for it until the end of 1981, because somebody else needed it, incidentally not a member of the organization. And how can one talk about truthworthiness... Believe me, youth does not really ask for too much.

Opinions about the directions, program, profile of PRON, the whole complex of problems related to the activity of the movement contained in its declaration are certainly not representative opinions of all the communities. One can agree with them, one can argue with them, one can voice his own proposals that may be more appropriate. There are also plenty of controversies during the discussions conducted at the meetings. After all, this is what all this is about, we are concerned about making sure that the program is an authentic one, that it reflects people's needs and possibilities. We are inviting our readers to voice their views. Please write to us.

#### Opole Province PRON Conference

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 30 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by R: "First City Conference of PRON in Opole"]

[Text] Yesterday First City Conference of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth met in session. It was one of the final conferences on the level of

towns and gminas that were electing delegates for the Voivodship Congress of PRON scheduled for 11 of April, as well as for the May Congress of this movement. Besides electing the delegates the conference has evaluated the up to now pre-Congress campaign in Opole.

Main concern of the PRON activists today is propagating movement's ideas, its organizational and statutory principles, because widening PRON's social base, enlisting both new activists as well as sympathizers is the fundamental condition of success of all the social initiatives that this movement intends to undertake. Many elements and communities of PRON have conducted discussions of the draft declarations and statutory principles of PRON. Many comments and motions were submitted that were communicated to the participants of yesterday's conference, they were addressed to the Voivodship Congress as a resolution. It follows from those discussions that principles of PRON's functioning are still subject of many controversies, while knowledge of PRON's problems is unsufficient even among its participants, although its ideas find every wider social support. Because it is an unpleasant life in a house where tenants quarrel, as Karol Wilsz, chairman of the Provisional City Council of PRON, stated in his report. Besides a dialogue and understanding necessary are also concrete activities aiming at reviving civic attitudes, since we cannot burden the state solely with the concern for the good of the country.

The discussants have touched upon a wide range of problems--they have discussed the attainment up to now of their PRON elements, they judged the declaration and statutory principles and related how their communities view them, proposals to be included in the program of action were also presented. The resolution of the city conference does not, however, end the pre-Congress campaign neither does it close the discussion of the organizational shape and program of PRON.

Elections resulted in entrusting 25 citizen with mandates of delegates to the voivodship conference, five were elected to the congress.

A resolution has been also accepted during the debates that voices objection against the reviving revisionism in West Germany and militant, constituting a menace to peace tendencies that were revealed in Minister Zimmermann's pronouncements.

Upon the suggestion of one of the participants of the debates, an appeal to support the idea of building a Hospital-Monument to the Polish Mother has been accepted, a collection of money for this purpose has been also carried out in the hall. The memory of Karol Musiel, a well known civic activist, has been honored with a minute of silence.

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POLAND

PROVINCIAL PRON ACTIVITIES NOTED

Konskie PRON Charter Member Conference

Kielce SLOWO LUDU in Polish 2 Mar 83 p 1

/Text/ A PRON charter member conference took place 28 February in Konskie. Three-person delegations from 62 plants, cooperatives, and schools participated in the conference. A 57-person plenum and an 11-person presidium were elected at the conference. Aleksy Kierkus, director of the local high school /LO/ became the chairman of the City-Gmina PRON Council and a delegate to the countrywide congress.

After the conference program was approved, the participants univocally adopted the following resolution:

"We, the participants of the Konskie PRON conference, gathered at our first organizational meeting, protest revisionist actions of FRG leaders. We are particularly concerned with the belligerent statement of Friedrich Zimmerman, FRG minister of internal affairs, directed at our country. Keeping in the mind millions of World War II victims, we state that we fully support policy of peace, cooperation, and detente among states with different political systems. We will not allow anybody, either now or in the future, to undermine Yalta and Potsdam accords and Poland--FRG accords ratified in 1970.

Koszalin Province PRON Program

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 19-20 Mar 83 pp 1, 3

/Article by pak: "A Battle for the Program and Forms of the Movement for National Salvation/

/Text/ As we informed before, a program-election campaign of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth is taking place now in Pomorze Srodkowe. As the first stage of the campaign, meetings are taking place in villages, cities, and some plants. The PRON draft declaration and statutory principles of its functioning are discussed, and delegates to regional conferences are elected at the meetings.

In some parts of Koszalin Voivodship meetings of gmina and city councils are now taking place. Last Thursday such meetings took place in Kolobrzeg, Ryman, and Siemysl, and yesterday they took place in Barwice, Bialograd, Dygow, Goscin, and Sianow. Today, Saturday, 19 March, PRON activists will meet in Ustronie Morskie. Many problems are discussed at the meetings, including the evaluation of the movement's accomplishments and forms of functioning. Local matters are also discussed. Special attention is given to problems needing immediate solutions and requiring cooperation between the public and local authorities.

#### Suggestions, Postulates, Controversy

Provisional councils organized village and plant meetings in 12 cities and gminas of Slupsk Voivodship.

Discussions that take place at the meetings, which are open to all interested in normalizing the situation and implementing the idea of national understanding, touch on many subjects. Painful matters that, in the view of the local public need to be corrected, improved, and changed, are discussed.

For example, in Rzeczenica Gmina the supply of production means, food, and industrial consumption goods does not correspond to the need for these products. In Przechlewo Gmina the PRON Provisional Gmina Council /TRG/ will oversee the construction of a health center. It is hoped that this will speed up the construction of this much needed center, which is taking too long.

The PRON Provisional Voivodship Council /TRW/ intervened with local authorities in Pienieznica concerning a scandalous decision to close a state farm /PGR/ kindergarten and use the facility for a new office. The closing took place suddenly, and parents were not even informed. Pienieznica residents feel that this is unreasonable, to say the least.

Actions planned by PRON activists in Czluchow include creating a team that will work on implementing the idea of the town park territorial management. This issue was tackled several times in the past, but it was not supported by the town authorities.

Many other local problems have been discussed at village and gmina meetings. Suggestions and postulates made at the meetings serve as a basis for the program of social objectives. Citizens are beginning to realize that some problems can be solved in the framework of community actions. A program of such actions should be created, however.

While listening to discussions taking place in plants, it is difficult not to notice another very important trend. Much fear and controversy are generated by the authorities' tolerance of unqualified management cadre. For example, at a Slupsk meeting, it was pointed out that many directors put cars belonging to plants to private use. In many plants a veritable "earthquake" was caused by such cases as unjust distribution of silver 1,000-zloty coins.

During discussions concerning the PRON declaration a strong conviction was expressed that the movement for national understanding should expose to the public view all cases of arrogance and disrespect for citizens, displayed by the authorities. Those things still happen.

#### Pre-Congress PRON Campaign on Understanding

Koszalin GLOS POMORZA in Polish 26-27 Mar 83 p 1

/Article by jr: "The Focus on the Idea of National Understanding"/

/Text/ PRON pre-Congress discussions are conducted in Slupsk and Koszalin Voivodships in basic units, citizens' committees for national rebirth, gmina and city election conferences, and at PRON council meetings, just as in the rest of the country. Discussions concern the proposed PRON ideological declaration and statutory principles. Furthermore, accomplishments are balanced, objectives are discussed, and many needs of the communities are pointed out. Many communities express their faith in the movement. At the meetings new initiatives are undertaken. Comments, proposals, and suggestions are made concerning the PRON basic documents, as well as programs adopted by particular PRON units, especially in the context of specific problems concerning the daily life, management and political-educational objectives of their communities.

The pre-Congress campaign is now in its second stage. Sessions and meetings of PRON local councils at gmina and city levels are over. During those meetings delegates to regional and voivodship conferences were elected. At present, during last days of March, regional conferences will take place. At those conferences discussions conducted in gminas and cities will be summed up and delegates to the countrywide congress will be elected. For example, according to decisions adopted in Koszalin voivodship, every region chooses one delegate to the congress. However, two places are reserved for Koszalin (the choices have already been made). Altogether, Koszalin Voivodship will be represented by 19 delegates, including 10 elected directly in regions. The remaining 9 delegates will be elected at the voivodship conference in Koszalin.

#### Krakow Province PRON Tasks

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 21 Mar 83 pp 1

/Article by saw: "The Tasks are Dictated by Needs of the People"/

/Text/ Zofia Rembiasz--secretary, the PRON Provisional Gmina Council in Lososina Dolna:

"Our stand in the discussion concerning the movement's declaration was expressed in tangible terms. We translated of necessity general formulations into tasks that will be implemented during the next few weeks and months. The declaration states that at first we should try to understand, then we should reach understanding, and, in the end, we should try to come out of the crisis.

Both large-scale and seemingly insignificant issues should be addressed. Although we have been functioning only for a short time, people already come to us with their problems. We intervened in such matters as proper distribution of coupons and coffee sales. We contributed to giving children and high school students a priority in receiving coupons for footwear. We monitored commercial establishments. We want to help youths acquire facilities where they can meet at cultural events. We plan to work with Wronowice women who asked us for help in establishing a regional song and dance ensemble.

"The above program and tasks are dictated by people and their needs. This is our way of implementing pre-Congress documents.

"We participate in consultations concerning the gmina plan for this year. We help evaluate decisions made by gmina authorities. These are the issues addressed by the declaration. They need our immediate attention. It is good that the declaration addressed matters concerning people's councils, self-government, and voting regulations. Our initial discussions have shown the validity of our claim that the PRON organizational aspect needs more attention, particularly at lower levels. I am thinking here about prompt and accurate information, and solutions that would allow for quick and effective functioning."

#### Krakow Rural PRON Elements

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 24 Mar 83 pp 1, 2

/Article by jmc, saw, kam: "Trust is Gained Through Work"/

/Text/ Elements of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth are being created in both cities and villages. They help solve problems of rural communities that gmina administrations cannot or will not tackle. PRON members undertake those problems, and more often than not, they succeed.

The village of Stanislawice is in Klaj Gmina, between Krakow and Bochnia. A PRON element was founded there as early as December 1982. Julian Strach, councilor of many years and ZSL member, was chosen as the element's chairman. The membership of the rural PRON in Stanislawice includes ZSL and party members, the Gmina Cooperative activists, young Folk Sports Teams' members, and persons not affiliated with any organizations.

"We do not care whether our people are party members or not," says Julian Strach, "Reaching understanding among people is our main concern. We can only build on the basis of understanding. For example, we built a store that was very much needed in the village. Right now our main task is to acquire the right to own the Village Center. The center was purchased by the village already in 1934, but it did not receive the title. The center will have a post office, telephone exchange (which is another facility very much needed in the village), and a store."

The PRON is also working on linking the village to aqueducts in Bochnia, since the search for water sources was not successful. The available water contains too much iron, and is not suitable for drinking. The PRON is also negotiating with the PKP /Polish State Railroads/ in order to acquire a permission for building a railroad station here.

These matters are very important to the village. And it so happened that the PRON gained credibility and trust of rural residents through undertaking such problems. Now people come to the PRON Provisional Council even with private matters, such as how to deal with clerical matters, fill out an application, and even how to stop a fight between son-in-law and father-in-law. That is right: the PRON members' functions include mediating family conflicts. All this is done in the name of understanding, in whose name, after all, this body was founded.

The Citizens' Committee of National Rebirth has been active for the last 8 months in Grodek-on-Dunajec Gmina. A few days ago it was transformed into the PRON Gmina Council. Its chairman, Jozef Gustek, believes that only tangible results can attest to the PRON members' accomplishments.

"For the last 2 years," he said, "we have made efforts to build a health care center in Roznow. The results were nil. Then the OKON intervened, and now we can say that something was accomplished: in the third quarter of this year the contractor will enter the construction site.

"We also contributed to ending a disagreement over the road Wiesiolka-Roznow, which will be built already this year.

"People come to us with their personal problems as well, and we try to help them."

Boleslaw Marcinowski, the PRON Gmina Council member and Korzenna and the gmina schools' director in Trzycierz, began our conversation with a qualification that all accomplishments gmina citizens made during the last few months are not just a temporary phenomenon. Trzycierz residents would like to build a new store, but they are not asking for handouts. They pledged to donate a site for it and some construction materials. They also organized a crew that will help with works that do not require skilled workers.

Together with PRON activists, Korzenna residents created a committee for the gmina school's construction. Here also, people pledge to give construction materials and do some of the work.

In Wierzchoslawiec Gmina (Tarnow Voivodship) the PRON Provisional Council asked members of all organizations to combine efforts and work together to fulfill urgent needs of the village. The plans include activating procurement of agricultural products, utilizing unused buildings and facilities, cultivating wasteland, creating "slotys" councils, and helping young farmers build homes. In a few days there will be a meeting at which construction workers will acquaint young farmers with ideas for inexpensive housing.

Jozef Miterka, chairman, the PRON Provisional Gmina Council says: "We are trying to interest the youth in our movement since they are missing among us. I think that the village residents will be fully convinced of the usefulness of our activities when they see tangible results."

PRON members in villages are truly devoted to the task of serving the people, as facts show. They believe that coming out of the crisis means mainly taking care of their own backyard and reaching understanding in their own region. If every region reaches understanding, we will all be able to work together on rebuilding the country. That is why PRON members are trying to gain trust of rural public through work and tangible results.

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DOCUMENTS ISSUED BY PRON CONGRESS PUBLISHED

**Appeal to Nation**

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 May 83 p 1

[Text] Our movement was born of the desire to come to the aid of the fatherland in its hour of danger. When Poland is threatened there is no time for quarrels or divisions. Everyone who is concerned with the fate of the nation and the socialist state, with the near and distant future, should be with us.

Improving the Republic entails not only changing outmoded structures and creating new ones. It also, possibly above all, means working on ourselves. Intellectual stereotypes have undergone depreciation. Our difficult times require a new outlook on social coexistence, on the interdependence of the authorities and society, and on the relation of rights and duties with respect to the state.

Our attitude toward work must be subject to deep reappraisal. Work cannot be a necessary evil or an area of disorganization and waste of social energy. The quality of our work is the quality of our future--a condition for the rebirth of national dignity, a source of moral order and of satisfaction for the individual and the collective.

The nation and the state stand for the family. The constancy of the family is decisive for a healthy society. Let us create, both within and outside of the family and the school, the conditions which will permit the full development of our youngest Poles. Let us assure them free access to science and to national and world culture.

Socialist Poland must be a strong state. Its strength lies in democracy and interpersonal relations based on respect for the dignity of man, just laws and collective discipline. This determines the wisdom of the nation.

We appeal: Let us do everything to make the repeal of martial law possible.

The Congress hopes that the upcoming visit of Pope John Paul II will attest to the further normalization of our life and will help strengthen the unity of Polish society.

It is time now to put our own house in order, as befits the needs and aspirations of our generation as well as those of the future.

[Signed:] The First Congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.  
Warsaw, 9 May 1983

Stand on Unity Front

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 May 83 p 3

[Text] The Congress affirms that the National Unity Front has brought many lasting values to the complicated fortunes of Poland. In Polish conditions in the 1980's, we wish to avail ourselves of the best experiences of the National Unity Front, whose members have taken active part in the national rebirth movement.

The Congress hopes that our movement will benefit from the achievements of the National Unity Front, and will enrich them and expand upon them in a manner befitting our times.

[Signed:] The First Congress of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth.  
Warsaw, 9 May 1983

CSO: 2600/852

POLAND

'NOWE DROGI' CONTENTS FOR APRIL PUBLISHED

AU140819 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 May 83 p 2

[Text] The April issue of NOWE DROGI has appeared. The following items appear in it: "Permanent Values of Alliance, Friendship and Cooperation" by Zbigniew Madej; "The Principles of the Religious Policy of the Polish People's Republic" by Adam Lopatka; "The Party and Religion" by Stanislaw Markiewicz; "Higher Education--A Platform for Struggle and Constructive Tasks" by Benon Miskiewicz; "Socialist Social Justice and How To Implement It" by Mieczyslaw Michalik; "Reflections on Ideology and Reform" by Aleksander Lukaszewicz; "Regaining Strength" by Lech Winiarski; "Fifty Years Ago, Hitler in Power" by Marian Podkowinski; and "The 40th Anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising" by Jerzy Kochanski, subtitled "We Are Joined by a Wall of Execution." Under the heading "Lenin in the Struggle Against Bureaucracy, Insensitivity and Corruption," the editors have published a selection of statements by the leader of the October Revolution and creator of the Soviet state on these subjects.

In the section "Problems and Discussions," we find a range of interesting articles, as usual. Wladzimierz Lebiedzinski devotes an article to the problem of "Marxism and Socialist Construction"; Zygmunt Kossut writes about economic reform in foreign trade; and Ryszard Chilewa and Janusz Czyz write about "The Results of the Reform in State Farms." In the permanent section entitled "International Issues," Mieczyslaw Olender describes the domestic prerequisites for overcoming the crisis in Poland, while Joachim Liszka presents a "Picture of Poland in FRG Publications." The issue is completed by reviews and a report of the NOWE DROGI delegation's visit to the GDR.

CSO: 2600/849

WRITERS' PROBLEMS IN PRESENTING 'THE TRUTH'

Bucharest AMFITEATRU in Romanian Mar 83 p 10

Article by Stelian Tanase: "The Problems of Romanian Truth"

Text "La véritable confession, c'est le silence. Mais le silence est le contraire de la littérature.... Il y a au départ une imposture" (Eugen Ionescu). From the outset, the literature of confession, centered on the problems of truth, starts with this big handicap: it cannot go to the end, the end being silence. Its trait--the half measure--thus leads to the contradiction between partiality and its objective tendency to strive against distortions, hoaxes and, in particular, forgetting (thus, against silence, but with a minus sign), because the absence of collective and individual memory, life lived in a continuous present, makes aberration possible in history. Amnesia, before being itself a malefic specter, gives rise to an imagination that endlessly repeats a few prototypes, all monsters. Literature that proposes to reestablish the truth, by placing it in different contexts and situations, leads inherently to the modification of a lie, helps it to survive, adapting it to the demands of the day, giving it verisimilitude for a time, usually for the duration of a generation, "reconciling it with reality," according to the well-known Hegelian formulation. But a social state devoid of truth--more precisely, with the truth placed outside it--imposes on the writer the bringing of it inside and the shaping of it to the dimension of all things--that is, of man. Not by chance does this century abound in confessions, documents, of a literature that makes a basic mission of truth. Interindividual relations cannot be disalienated except when they are perfectly transparent, and obviously the lie darkens and obscures them.

The historicism of truth is an objective process out of which no one comes contradicting or, more seriously, ignoring. The accommodation of the image of ourselves to recent history (the history found in the memory of those who are alive and for whom such and such an event or air of an era need not be brought to mind by means of calendars or documentary evocations, just as no event can be wiped from memory through omission) constitutes the hard work of many writers, some managing to bring about crises of consciousness that cause many matters that seemed settled at least on the scale of the present to be questioned and even overturned. It is like a made-up thing: the stronger a truth seems in an era, the faster it will fall into oblivion right after the outstripping of the conceptual and institutional premises that generated and imposed it. I would say that the "civil society" (Marx) causes these periodic rehabilitations in order to conserve certain active structures, those structures without which its existence would be endangered. Like a lizard, it

abandons its tail in order to regain freedom. But is the truth such a negligible part of the social corpus? No, because--here is an example--right after the war, in France, those who praised the wall of the Atlantic during the occupation (newspaper-men, writers, commentators and so on) were tried and removed from public life, and the treatment of those who contributed to raising the wall (bankers, engineers, officials with the work force) differed greatly: they continued their activity without hindrance, as if their behavior had been faultless. But there are eras where truthtelling or silence acquires greater weight than the determining economic mechanism of a society. On the other hand, it seems that the truth has magical properties, it having the power to unleash or to hinder events. In this framework, the arbiters, the public, have regarded the confirmed lie as 1) strength 2) weakness. This situation imposes prudence in the relations with those who (fictionally or factually) undertake truthtelling. Hannah Arendt writes: "The political function of the one who narrates history--a novelist, a historian--is to teach (to the others--our note) the acceptance of things as they are"--thus, devoid of the wrapping composed of the series of standard images and stock phrases, the preconceptions usual to each era, which forbid to the senses, intelligence, judgment direct access to things, a demystified reality, therefore, which is found fully in itself, identical with itself on all levels, where the words have regained their original meaning. To call a spade a spade, to configure things in their natural, true proportions: this is always the writer's mission. But his inability to undertake successfully this difficult and risky operation must not necessarily be imputed to laziness or to the desire to lead a quiet life, or to the multitude of prohibitions and obstacles (real and otherwise), but to the human limits of the author revealed to himself and the others in the attempt to penetrate the essence of things; if a thing is nothing but the affirmation of its essence and not its negation, on the plane of creation this simple formulation becomes almost irresolvable. And then we must ask ourselves if, managing to overcome the above-mentioned difficulties, he will manage to express fully what he has discovered, if he possesses, in other words, a sufficiently elaborate and well-mastered set of instruments for conveying to us what he knows. But it is a long way to the production of the emotion, because the truth is not preexistent, a treasure hunted with a map, it is produced in the subject-object dynamics (at least on the plane of literature). Of course, the object preexists the approach, but the author cuts and ranks in terms of value and brings us his truth, gained by one alone.

There is in circulation a preconception that the truth is known by everybody and only a few have the courage to tell it. And others, even rarer, to write it. The truth thus becomes the appendage to the moral problems and less the center of a purely cognitive question. There is forgotten the long and uncertain step of entering into possession of a truth, whatever it may be, of a certainty on the human social plane, where, in contrast to the natural sciences, the experiment entails countless risks and where the verification and repetition of the conditions under which someone gained a truth are practically impossible. Consequently, in literature often even the strain of this search sometimes resulting in failures produces viable works.

In the second half of the '60's, after the Khrushchev report, the following witticism was prevalent: the past is more unpredictable than the future--a witticism that owed its spread to a present-oriented view of history, which caused the past (especially the recent past) to be written according to the demands of the moment, with the pretension that the respective version was nothing but the truth. The

permanent dispossession of a fixed past, capable of offering lessons and collective experience, has proved harmful. Treating the past as a future, adjusting it according to extraliterary criteria (or extrahistorical criteria, for historians), the writer rejects his only chance to configure for the present a spirituality of its own. The past cannot be changed, in contrast to the present, but only its image. Hence the flimsiness of any undertaking of this type, despite the fact that enough have devoted themselves to this goal. But quantity does not count here, a single piece of evidence is sufficient and the crack produced widens and the construction of the alleged historical truth collapses. The analysis of existence cannot forgo the single support: objective reality in full swing, if it does not want to be, as literature, just a commentary on literature--that is, unfruitful. The harmfulness of replacing one lie with another, under the pretext of "reestablishing the truth," hence results. Despite the apparent fragility, the truth is always found behind the errors of judgment, the lies (spontaneous/premeditated/individual/group/generalized), the mistakes and so on and comes to the surface in periods of crisis. Once they are consumed, it again makes way for the conventional lies, the conventional truths that muffle the tensions and maintain the equilibrium. We often label as truth mere opinions and ephemeral judgments that, even when they were stated, lost their keenness. But the truth relates to a crisis (of historical consciousness...), causes it and is caused by it.

The past literary decade was dominated, as regards prose, by "the novel of the obsessive decade," which recovered on the plane of consciousness, through a few memorable books, a world that otherwise--in the absence of works of history and philosophy, in the absence of documents and memoirs--seemed vanished for good. Many writers who began at the end of those years (they themselves witnesses to the unfolding of so many events produced by a mechanism that exorcised their truths, committing as well the imprudence of not replacing them with anything--because no doctrine replaces the existence of transparent relations between individuals) attempted an analysis of the transformations--according to an accepted expression--produced in the first decades after the war, finding that their mission and chance was to explain the tensions and their narrowminded and inhuman solutions and to overturn the sugary literature written in the '50's by prose writers who knew the state of affairs but preferred to avert their eyes. There resulted a polemic and doctrinaire novel vis-a-vis the image prevalent up to then, a distorted image teeming with unfurled banners, statistics and challenges to competition, abounding in angels in spotless coveralls after 10 hours of work, with mediocre sentiments contrasting with the abstract and pathetic elan. Posing the closest contact with reality, the "socialist realist" novel produced a hoax. Under the appearance of the document there was the crudest and strangest fiction; under the air of living authenticity there was the mortifying imposture. Malraux stated that no one can endure continuous torture. Nor, I believe, continual lies without beginning and end. His thinking deteriorates and after a while he no longer has the necessary discernment. Then the act of not limiting the fiction to everyday life concerns the "civil society" of self-control. It was thus natural for a period of self-abandonment by so many writers amnesiac toward their vocation to be followed--dialectically--by a period of rediscovery of the tools and the questions, of more lucidity generated both by the crisis of consciousness and by the impossibility of continuing in the same way. Of course, "the novel of the obsessive decade" had to be written at that time (if only for the drawer), in a direct connection with a bewildering immediate history, and it is astonishing that, in contrast to other eras that overturned values, truly tragic works did not appear. Of course, the novelist does not propose mainly to utter the truth

(like archivists, journalists, historians). With the authors of conscience, it is inserted naturally and spontaneously into the fabric of the work; while there is no viable work without truth, the truth nonetheless does not suffice in itself. Of course, in debating with the imposed model of the former "socialist realist" novel (in fact, neither socialist nor realist), mingling with the world and its theses, something was taken over. A certain Manicheism, a certain dictate that excludes dialogue and imposes its own truth, dated historically and biased. Setting out on the chaste search for a truth that seemed lost for good, compelled to refer to the literary cliches of the proletpcult and to defy them, the old problems, repeating one of the deceptions of history, were handed down, appearing, often with a sign changed, in the novel of the "obsessive decade," disregarding the fact that the old problems were completely false, invented and supported artificially. The questions of that era were others, unuttered. Existence had other dimensions. However, the true existence, the true questions had to be recovered. Life imposes on the writer (it should) its real contradictions and not a mental model, even chosen in order to annul it. On this path, the difficulties are innumerable, even if we have in mind only the absence of the theoretical works (Anthropology, the study of mentalities, political economy, sociology, law contemporary history) over the past decades that would support the effort to find and assume the truth. Nevertheless, a novel cannot be produced (although I am contradicted by so many valuable books that are appearing) by endlessly taking things almost from zero, always putting in question things explained on a doctrinal/literary level, demonstrating on scores of pages what a philosopher would explain in a few lines--of course, if he would not avoid the burning subjects and would not take refuge in marginal questions that do not involve him in the problems of man. Not by chance are a number of writers publishing thicker and thicker volumes in the attempt to cover immense areas of reality and recent history ignored by the social sciences.

Under these conditions, the problems of truth (closely connected with those of man and freedom...) acquire a weight and gravity without equal.

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REORGANIZATION OF FEDERAL BUREAUCRACY IN PREPARATION

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1682, 27 Mar 83  
pp 15-16

[Article by Dragan Jovanovic: "Self-Management in the Government Administration"]

[Text] As soon as the conversation turns to the growing administration, Parkinson's name is immediately brought up, though Gulliver said the same thing long before him and a bit more sharply.

Last week Parkinson was also mentioned by Zivorad Kovacevic, member of the SIV [Federal Executive Council] and chairman of the SIV Commission for Personnel Affairs, in a press conference concerning the most recent transformation of the federal administration:

"In the federal administration in general, and especially in the personnel situation, Parkinson's Law is still operative."

This was not said unthinkingly: in 1971 the federal administration had a work force of 7,420, and in 1981 its work force numbered 15,450. In 10 years, then, the number doubled, and Parkinson's Law seems truly to be valid for all government administrations in the world. Yet is that exactly so? And what, then, is the aim and potential of the most recent transformation of the federal administration?

Zivorad Kovacevic says that this "step will not be revolutionary." Nevertheless, this time it seems that it will not be an ordinary administrative maneuver of large moves whose effect will be less than the dust that is raised. In other words, it seems that everything will not end with someone retiring though that is where he should have been long ago. According to what the invited newsmen were told by Kovacevic and Borislav Krajina, federal secretary for the judicial system and the federal administration, something much more radical will be attempted this time.

What lies in the conception of the "Program of Activities Toward Further Transformation of the Federal Administration"?

### **Under SIV's Umbrella**

Not only laymen, but also those who have been in any way concerned with the federal administration often equate the federal administration, whether consciously or unconsciously, be it right or wrong, with SIV, and that, Kovacevic says, "detracts from the accountability of federal administrative agencies and puts a burden on SIV." This transformation is supposed to clearly mark out jurisdictions, though what everyone is supposed to do is clearly written down in the constitution as well. The federal administration, then, is supposed to work persistently to "carry out the established policy and ensure the execution of law," which in the past has often been done by SIV instead of the administration. In line with this "new" task the federal administration is to be directly linked to the organs of the assembly, i.e., to the delegate assembly, and it is to be deprived of the intermediation of SIV which it has had up to now and which in future "is to concern itself only with the more important matters." The plan, then, is for the federal administration to be pushed out of the deep shade offered by SIV's umbrella. Or, in other words, SIV has decided that it can no longer take those reproaches, and at this point there are truly a great many addressed to it, for which it is not at fault and even though it is often worked to the bone. Up through last week SIV in its present membership had held 127 meetings. Someone has calculated that meetings of the federal government have been held practically every other or every third day, and still criticism of the performance of the SIV is showering down from everywhere. And Zivorad Kovacevic himself, a member of the federal government, says that "people in SIV are not satisfied with the work they have done."

Why is SIV's performance poor? Or, more accurately, how much is the federal administration to blame for this?

"The departments are not performing well, they are preparing poor alternatives for SIV, and it is making poor decisions. Interdepartmental cooperation is very reminiscent of cooperation among the republics. Nothing can be carried through by telephone, but material is written up for the merest trifle, meetings are held, people are gathered together from four or five federal secretariats and committees." This assessment by Marjan Rozic, chairman of the Committee of Basic Organizations of the LC in Federal Bodies, Agencies and Organizations, did not claim to explain why SIV is in general performing poorly, but it certainly covers that portion of the blame which is borne by the federal administration for the work of the federal government. To some extent this is related to the placement on the agenda at precisely this moment of the question of transformation of the federal administration, although, to be sure, that job began back 2 years ago with the requirement that it be carried through by the end of 1985. The aim, then, is for the federal administration, which at present is cumbersome and expensive, as well as slow and inefficient, to become independent and thereby take on full responsibility for what it is required to do, and that without the patronal coverage of SIV it has had up to now and the comfortable lethargy under its umbrella. Put simply, in future it should be not only the official or the member of SIV who will blush before the delegate in the assembly and before the public in general because of his sloppy work.

It is no accident, then, that both Kovacevic and Krajina (and indeed all those with whom we talked last week and this week) mentioned the "ideological differentiation" in federal administrative agencies without which the transformation of the administration, that is, its constitutional and self-management concept, is unthinkable. Many people who sit in the federal administration, but also in its vicinity, respond with an ironic smile to the mere mention of the federal administration. They seem to be more numerous than those who feel that in a federal administrative agency there should be self-management just as in any other work organization. Those would be the two extreme negative ideological poles of the "ideological differentiation" which has been mentioned. But far more dangerous are the rocks beneath the water that stand between these two sharp peaks. This is the opportunism of a majority of those employed in the federal administration, which is difficult to set in motion to undertake a political action in which quite a few of them could come out on the short end.

#### Everywhere or Nowhere

Marjan Rozic is one of those who believe in the self-managing function of the Federation and thereby also in the triumph of party members in the struggle for a self-managing federal administration within the federal administrative system.

"I think that it is a false dilemma as to whether or not self-management is possible in federal administrative agencies. Self-management exists everywhere in this country or it does not exist anywhere. Of course, specific features must be taken into account: it is not possible in the federal administration for self-management to be the same as in an OOUR [basic organization of associated labor] which is earning some income. Self-management in the federal administrative agencies must be related to the job of carrying out the work program of that department, to performing the work tasks of those who are employed in it, to the earning of personal incomes and to achievement of the economic status of the persons employed. There is quite a bit of room here for self-management."

To be sure, Rozic calls attention to certain individuals in federal administrative agencies who want to turn self-management to their own advantage and wave it as a banner while they are bargaining over performance of certain functions and work tasks. But, in Rozic's opinion, the statist concept whose proponents want only to give orders and commands, is much more present, although "their strength should not be overestimated either." The assessment of the Presidium of the Committee of Basic Organizations of the LC is that the political-ideological effort in party organizations of federal administrative agencies has been very little developed and that the federal administration is virtually apolitical.

"In some of the party organizations a strange question is being asked: With what should they be concerned? Whether only with peripheral problems or performance of the constitutional function of the federal agencies. The basic organizations of the LC ought not to be routinely involved in this action of the transformation of the federal administration, but they should enter upon a

very specific political struggle to change the present situation, a struggle that will strengthen not only self-management in the federal administration, but also the self-management concept of the Federation."

Can party members win that battle on their own?

"Traditionalism and statism in the federal administration can be fought only with courage and determination, though that is by no means easy in the administration. But that is the only way out. Only that is a contribution of the federal administrative agencies to the fight for stabilization and its social essence. That struggle, then, presupposes that every worker in the federal administration is on the side of the concept of a self-managing administration and not merely for saving on paper consumption. If in future people are to work only because they are afraid of the boss, the results in the federal administration will continue to be sterile.

Ivan Nahtigal is not only the deputy federal secretary for the judicial system and the federal administration, but also a member of the Presidium of the Committee of Basic Organizations of the LC in Federal Bodies, Agencies and Organizations, and also delivered the introductory address concerning transformation of the federal administration at the last meeting of the presidium.

#### Wherever the Government Becomes Involved

"Its principal job is to enforce the law, and it carries out that governmental function and administers penalties. The withering away of the state cannot be undertaken all at once, since we are not anarchists. The state will wither away gradually," Nahtigal says, but he immediately adds: "But if the state becomes stronger, statist appetites could develop, and then we could have a situation where the federal administration would begin to operate as a state even where there has been no place for it for a long time, more accurately, since the 1974 constitutional amendments. And wherever the state becomes involved, as a rule the billy club comes into play, as it has been metaphorically put."

What does Nahtigal think about the comfortable position of the federal administration under the umbrella of SIV?

"The federal administration must not be either anyone's pet, nor should it be anyone's stepchild when it comes before the delegates. The administration should be directly responsible to the assembly for some things and SIV for other things. The umbrella, then, has two sides," Nahtigal says.

Yet he feels that it will be difficult to win the battle for the new administration. Opportunists and idlers will not easily give up the comfortable slumber in the offices, though the first results, which come as a matter of fact from the Secretariat for the Judicial System, show that it is possible to carry out a new self-management administrative system in the federal administration. Yet Nahtigal, like Rozic, fears that everything will come down to mere practicalism and that fear of the boss will be the only motivation for work. If there is no self-management in the collective, the initiative and

mobility of those employed to do the job assigned them better and faster become pale. Self-management in the administration, then, also has this mobilizing function.

Yet in conclusion we cannot but mention those "banal" trifles without which nothing can function as it should, not even our federal administration. This is distribution according to work and housing. Without housing and without pay that has the effect of an incentive it is difficult to mobilize anyone to do anything. Yet it is another question as to what it means to be poorly paid in the federal administration and not to have been allocated housing. This is something being discussed these days, more or less nervously, not only in the federal administration, but also in every collective in Belgrade.

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June 2, 1983